



# The Expedition to Uva made in 1630

BY CONSTANTINE de SA de NORONHA,  
*Captain-General of Ceylon*

*As narrated by a Soldier who took part in the Expedition*

TOGETHER WITH

# An Account of the Siege laid to Colombo by the King of Kandy

Written by

AFFONSO DIAS da LOMBA

*Translated into English from Copies of the Original Manuscripts*

By Father S. G. PERERA, S.J.

COLOMBO

A. C. RICHARDS, ACTING GOVERNMENT PRINTER, CEYLON  
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## INTRODUCTION

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THE two manuscripts translated below are contemporary narratives written by eye-witnesses of the events. The originals are in the Ajuda Library of Lisbon (1, Codex 51-IV.-32, and 2, Codex 51-VIII.-40) and copies were procured for the Government of Ceylon.

The first entitled : *Jornada do Reino de Huua Por Constantino de Saa de Noronha, Offerecida a Senhora Dona Luisa da Silva e Mendonça, no anno de MDCXXXV.* : is a most curious and interesting account of the plot that led to the betrayal and rout of the Portuguese army, the death of the Captain-General, the surrender of the garrison of Menik-kadavara, the fate of the prisoners, the negotiations for peace, and its conclusion at Attápitiya in 1634. It is written in the form of a dialogue between two soldiers. 'Cardenio', who had served under Constantine de Sa and had taken part in the expedition, and been captured and kept a prisoner in the Kandyan country, but had escaped after three years, narrates his experiences to 'Fabricio', another soldier newly arrived in Ceylon, who had heard various versions of these events. In the course of the dialogue, the writer gives many a piece of information, curious and instructive, regarding the royal family of Kandy and other personages and events.

This narrative, written apparently in 1635,<sup>1</sup> is by far the earliest, the most detailed, and the most reliable account of the events that has come down to us. Raja Sinha, King of Kandy, writing to the Dutch in 1636, refers<sup>2</sup> to this expedition very briefly :

'At that time Constantinus de Zaa succeeded as General and Governor, eleven years after the peace<sup>3</sup> was concluded. The villainies that they practised were various, such as that by treachery they conquered Jafnapatan, and erected the fortress of Batecalo and Trinquelemale, and on the Emperor's<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The introduction is dated Menikkadavara, 1st April, 1635.

<sup>2</sup> This letter dated 9 September, 1636, appears in Dutch in Baldaeus's *Beachryving van het machtige Eyland Ceylon* (1672), pp. 45-46. The English translation given in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, Volume III., pp. 703-4, is from the German version. Though correct in substance, it is not an exact translation. Donald Ferguson retranslated it from the Dutch. Cf. J.C.B.R.A.S., XVIII., 169-171.

<sup>3</sup> Peace signed in August, 1617.—Bikor, *Tratados*, I., 203-5.

<sup>4</sup> Senarat.

wishing to oppose this, gave as reasons that they had certain tidings that some enemies from Europe wished to fortify themselves in the above named forts, and they erected the fortresses for the protection of the island. All this was done by great fraud; for after the expiry of a year, although we had a monk<sup>1</sup> in Candy as hostage, they attacked the imperial dominions in full force, although the late Emperor<sup>2</sup> (in order not to break his royal word) had set the monk at liberty. After that, when the enemy had again withdrawn, this Empire devolved<sup>3</sup> upon me, which enemies eleven months afterwards again began to maraud, so that we went out to Ambatana<sup>4</sup> to meet them, and drove them back to their territory with some loss; and seven months after that, the aforesaid enemies came again, well equipped, to attack the Principality of Ove, where we had a battle, and the victory was on our side, at which time the native rebels<sup>5</sup> came over to me as my lawful subjects, whereby the enemy was greatly weakened, so that our troops held the field, slaying the General<sup>6</sup> and the Sergeant-Major,<sup>7</sup> with the Captain of Dinavaca,<sup>8</sup> besides 400 soldiers and the Captains taken prisoners, and the Master of the

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<sup>1</sup> Ferguson, following Faria y Sousa, says this was Frey Francisco Negraõ. So also does Danvers (II., 228) and Dr. P. E. Pieris (Port. Era, II., 179). But Frey Negraõ was in Persia in 1619, then went to Rome and returned to Goa. His sojourn in Ceylon was long before this. The Franciscan who was in Kandy, at this time was Friar Joseph de S. Francisco.—Queyroz' *Conquista*, Eng. trans., p. 699. Constantine sent Friar Eleuterio de Sant Iago to Kandy, to dissuade Senerat from opposing the erection of the fort.—*Ib.* 698.

<sup>2</sup> Senerat died in 1635, says this manuscript, *infra* p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Senerat had partitioned the kingdom among his three sons in his lifetime. The first article of the peace which Senerat proposed to the Portuguese in December, 1632, is: 'Firstly, that the kingdom of Candia is divided among the three kings, sons of Dona Catharina, legitimated sovereign of these realms of Candia, who are her heirs and already have the lands portioned to them by the king (their father) and willingly accepted by them.' But the negotiations with the Portuguese were conducted by Senerat.

<sup>4</sup> Raja Sinha is not correct in representing the engagement at Ambatenna as a victory. See *infra* p. 18, n. 1 & p. 36, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> These are the Sinhalese Mudeliars who conspired against Sa and betrayed his army. He calls them 'rebels' because he claimed to be the sovereign of the whole island, and all those who gave allegiance to any other were 'rebels'. It is of course not to be expected that Raja Sinha would tell the Dutch that it was through their betrayal that he obtained the victory.

<sup>6</sup> Constantino de Sa do Noronha.

<sup>7</sup> The Sergeant-Major Miguel da Fonseca was not killed but taken prisoner.—Baker, *Tratados*, II., 40. He was sent to Goa as procurator for the King of Kandy with credential letters dated 5 December, 1632. See *infra* p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> This is probably the Dinava of Sofragam, Jacinto Rebello, who escaped but was killed at Sofragam on his way to Colombo.—Q. 778.

Field<sup>1</sup> and the Captain-Majors of the Seven-Corlas<sup>2</sup> and Matura,<sup>3</sup> with 300 soldiers, among whom were several Captains and ensigns. We also captured a fort in Mantea Ravane<sup>4</sup> with 100 Portuguese and their Captains, and another fortress in Sofragae<sup>5</sup> with three companies, destroying also two other forts of the aforesaid enemy. At about this time I besieged the city of Columbo, keeping the gates closed for more than thirty days, when finding myself unwell, I returned again to Candy, leaving my army under Mara Tana Wandaar,<sup>6</sup> who fifteen days after my arrival there departed thence, thus giving the enemy an opening, and so hindered me in the war for a year and a half. Afterwards this Captain went over to the rebels. Moreover with my army I attacked the territories of my enemies, fortifying myself in a place named Ganetena, doing much harm for six months to the aforesaid enemies, during which time there came from Goa to Columbo as Governor and General Diego de Melo de Castro (formerly Governor of S. Thomae<sup>7</sup>), who sued for peace,<sup>8</sup> which I granted him, because I knew that the country had been ruined by war, and because the aforesaid General, in the name of his king, gave me a promise and swore by his God, abandoning the forts of Trinquelemale and Batecalo, whereupon all prisoners were released.'

In this account, intended to impress the Dutch, whose assistance he was seeking, Raja Sinha narrates events in a light favourable to him. But as D. Ferguson has pointed out<sup>9</sup> from the hitherto accessible material, the periods of time are incorrect, and the royal writer has carefully omitted reference to his reverses.

Robert Knox in his *Historical Relation* (1681) makes a brief mention of the version of events current in the Kandyan Kingdom.

'Constantine Sa, General of the Portugals Army in Ceilon, when the Portugueze had footing in this Land, was very

<sup>1</sup> Maistre de Campo. The Captain-Major of the Field. Francisco Barbosa de Andrade.—Q. 778. *Infra* p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Dissava of the Seven-Korles. Luis Teixeira de Macedo. *Infra* p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Dissava of Matura. Domingos Carvalho Ca<sup>o</sup>, sent as procurator of the King to Goa, where he died. *Infra* p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Manieravare (Menikkadavara).

<sup>5</sup> Sofragam, Sagaragamuwa.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently Don Theodosio who afterwards went over to the Portuguese.

<sup>7</sup> S. Thome.

<sup>8</sup> The peace was made by Senerat in April, 1633.—Baker, *Treaties*, II., 46.

<sup>9</sup> J.C.B.R.A.S., XVIII., 251. nn. 40, 43.



successful against this present King. He run quite thro the Island unto the Royal City itself, which he set on Fire with the Temples therein. Insomuch that the King sent a Message to him signifying, that he was willing to become his Tributary. But he proudly sent him word back again, That that would not serve his turn ; he should not only be Tributary, but Slave to his Master the King of Portugal. This the King of Cande could not brook, being of an high Stomach, and said, He would fight to the last drop of Blood, rather than stoop to that. There were at this time many Commanders in the General's Army who were natural Chingulays<sup>1</sup> ; with these the King dealt secretly, assuring them that if they would turn on his side, he would gratifie them with very ample Rewards. The King's Promises took effect ; and they all revolted from the General. The King now daring not to trust the Revolted, to make tryal of their Truth and Fidelity, put them in the forefront of his Battel, and commanded them to give the first Onset. The King at that time might have Twenty or Thirty thousand Men in the Field. Who taking their opportunity, sot upon the Portugeze Army and gave them such a total overthrow, that as they report in that Countrey-not one of them escaped. The General seeing this Defeat, and himself like to be taken, called his Black Boy to give him water to drink, and snatching the Knife that stuck by his Boy's side, stabbed himself with it.'<sup>2</sup>

In the same year in which Knox published his Historical Relation there appeared in Lisbon an Apologia for Constantine de Sa. written by his son Joaõ Rodriquez de Sa de Menezes.<sup>3</sup> This book which was intended to clear the General's good name from the many unjust slanders of his enemies, contains, as is to be expected, a lengthy account of the expedition to Uva. But it is neither so detailed nor so circumstantial as this manuscript, as the writer had never been in India and compiled his book from published material and from information obtained from the General's friends long after the event.

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<sup>1</sup> 'The Portuguese government in Ceylon appears to have committed a great error in policy in raising the Cingulays to the rank of generals, and entrusting them with the command of armies. At one time four of these persons, under the title of Modiliars, went over to the enemy by a preconcerted arrangement, which occasioned the destruction of the Portuguese general, Constantine de Saa, and of his whole army.' —Major Johnston : Narrative of the Operations of a Detachment in an Expedition to Candy (1810), pp. 13-14. Cf. also Le Grand 197.

<sup>2</sup> Untrue.

<sup>3</sup> *Rebelion de Ceylan y los progressos de su Conquista en el gobierno de Constantino de Saa y Noronha*, published in Spanish (Lisbon, 1681), of which a translation will be found in J.C.B.R.A.S.. XI.



The account of the expedition is however quite accurate. And even Captain João Riberio, who wrote his *Fatalidade Histórica* in 1695, is evidently indebted<sup>1</sup> to the work of the younger Sa for the account of the expedition to Uva. But the Abbe Le Grand, who first discovered Ribeiro's book and brought out a free French translation entitled *Histoire de l'île de Ceylan* (1701), was able to add certain notes taken from a *Narrative of the War of Uva*, written by a Sinhalese Catholic priest named Phelipe Botelho. This writer describes himself as the nephew of the High Chamberlain and Chief Justice of Don Juan Dharmapala. His grandfather, Dom Emanuel was a zealous Catholic and was killed in action, while his mother's brothers Don Luis and Don Francis<sup>2</sup> were put to death by Wimala Dharma I. for refusing to acknowledge him. Botelho was in Ceylon when Constantine de Sa fell, and according to Le Grand his narrative gives 'greater details and a more exact account than the Relation [of Ribeiro] or even the Life<sup>3</sup> of Constantine de Sa. He describes the effects of this defeat which are not found elsewhere. In the first chapters of his Narrative he promises an account of the antiquities of Ceylon, but I do not know whether he has fulfilled his promise.'<sup>4</sup> This tantalizing description of the manuscript led Donald Ferguson to make a search for it, but without success.<sup>5</sup> Dr. P. E. Pieris thought that Botelho's manuscript was 'very probably the *Jornado do Reino de Huua*, which is now at the Bibliotheca da Ajuda.'<sup>6</sup> This was very probably written before Dr. Pieris saw the manuscript, for no reader of the *Jornada* would ever take it for anything but the work of a Portuguese soldier. It cannot possibly have been written by a Sinhalese. Moreover from the few extracts<sup>7</sup> from Botelho given by the Abbe Le Grand it would appear that Botelho's *Narrative* is neither so complete nor so detailed as the *Jornada*.

The *Jornada* has been the main source of Father Queyroz for his account of the expedition of Constantine de Sa. Practically all the historical information contained in this manuscript has been embodied in the *Conquista*. Many a passage of this manuscript is found word for word, and in one place Father Queyroz quotes a sentence from this manuscript as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ribeiro, Bk. II., Ch. I and 2.

<sup>2</sup> Grandsons of Gampola Bandara. Cf. Q. 705-7.

<sup>3</sup> By *Life* of Sa, Le Grand means the *Rebellion de Ceylan*.

<sup>4</sup> Preface.

<sup>5</sup> J.C.B.R.A.S., XI., 428.

<sup>6</sup> Port. Era, II., 532, n. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Le Grand, pp. 205, 209, 210.

contained in 'one of the documents I have'.<sup>1</sup> Moreover on the margins of this manuscript are certain additions and corrections made by a different hand, all of which are found in the *Conquista*. In some places there is the remark 'nonsense', and these passages are omitted in the *Conquista*. At the end of the manuscript is a note in very small writing, to say that the half-breeds of India cannot spell correctly. The writer of the note then adds that he could not correct all the mistakes, but would do so. The reason why all the corrections are not in the same handwriting is, he says, 'the impediment of my hand,' for 'it causes me such pain that I can scarcely write six lines.' The same remark, that 'the accidental and present impediment of my hand' forced him to dictate to another, is made by Father Queyroz in his Introduction to a book<sup>2</sup> prepared for the press at the same time as the *Conquista*. This leads me to suppose that the author of the marginal notes as well as of the final note is Father Queyroz himself.

The *Jornada* is anonymous. The writer calls himself by a fictitious name. He was a friend of Constantine de Sa, accompanied him in the expedition to Uva, was taken prisoner and spent three years in the Kandyan country, of which one year was spent in Uva. Finally he escaped with the connivance of the General Jorge de Almeida. On page 71 he names twenty persons of whom he was one. Six of these are distinct from the writer, who might be any one of the others.

The language of the manuscript is very clumsy, the spelling erratic, and sometimes it is difficult to understand what the writer means. Yet for all this his erudition is astounding. He quotes Scripture, Cicero, Vergil, and Ovid, refers to Martial, Aristotle, Quintillian, Plato, Plutarch, Meander, and Horace, shows familiarity with the *Aeneid* and treats the reader to a long account of women distinguished in literature, to show that it was not so very strange that the Queen of Kandy could write Portuguese verses. He was something of a poet himself.

The date of the manuscript is given as 1635. In the course of the dialogue reference is made to the death of King Senarat, which is said to have taken place in 1635. Some of the certificates placed at the beginning of the manuscript are authenticated in 1638 and 1639 at Goa. Two of them are

<sup>1</sup> Q. 780.

<sup>2</sup> *Vida do Veneravel Irmão Pedro de Busto* (1680, Lisbon). The Dedication is dated 1684.

original documents and on paper of different size from the rest of the manuscript ; which seems to show that the authentication was made after this book was written.

The second manuscript is a short one of four large sheets of paper giving a very brief account, first of the rout of Constantine de Sa as narrated in Colombo by some lascarins who had managed to escape with their lives, and secondly a short account of the siege which the Kandyan army laid to Colombo.

The writer is Affonso Dias da Lomba, who is mentioned by Father Queyroz<sup>1</sup> as one of his principal informants. Nothing is known of him. Possibly he was a son of Antonio Dias da Lomba who is mentioned both by Couto<sup>2</sup> and Queyroz<sup>3</sup> as a prominent figure in the events of the second half of the sixteenth century. He was a person well known at Kotte. He conducted Dharmapala's bride from Trincomalee to Colombo,<sup>4</sup> and was Alcaide Mor in 1581.

The date of the manuscript seems to be 1630. It was written presumably at Goa.<sup>5</sup> The writer was in Colombo up to at least the 11th of November, 1630, and narrates the events of the siege up to that day. His account had been forwarded to some official in Portugal by Joao da Costa Perestrello from Goa 27th January, 1633.

Though the writer of this document was one of the informants of Father Queyroz, it does not appear that Queyroz had seen this manuscript. At least I have not found in the *Conquista* any information contained only in this manuscript. But there is another original Manuscript in the Library of Ajuda (Codex 51-VIII. 40), a copy of which, procured for the Government of Ceylon, has been bound with this, which gives a description of the Island. That manuscript is the source and foundation of the greater part of the first book of the *Conquista*. Queyroz has embodied it in his description of the Island supplementing it from other sources and omitting passages which he did not consider of sufficient importance. It has therefore been thought unnecessary to publish a translation here, as all that is of any value in it is found in the *Conquista*. Unfortunately I did not see this in time to make use of it in my translation of the *Conquista*. However I was just able to refer<sup>6</sup> to it in footnotes.

<sup>1</sup> Q. XVIII., 130, 490.

<sup>2</sup> Couto, J.C.B.R.A. 8., XX. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Q. 280-121, 318-350, 38, 397-437.

<sup>4</sup> P. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Q. 32, 34, 37.



I have endeavoured to render the Portuguese quite literally, sacrificing elegance and even the balance of sentences for greater accuracy and fidelity to the text. There are a few obscure passages which I have translated literally, word for word, without understanding what the writer meant. Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., was kind enough to read through this translation and suggest some improvements and notes and even to elucidate one or two obscure passages. To enable the reader to follow the narrative, I give below a brief account of the career of Constantine de Sa up to the time of the expedition to Uva.

#### CONSTANTINE DE SA

Constantine de Sa de Menezes de Noronha, to give him his full name for once, was born at Lisbon in 1586 of a baronial family of high lineage, but scanty means, and was educated at the Jesuit College of Lisbon. As his father died young, he was brought up by his grandfather with special care, and one of the persons chosen to be his tutor was Mathias d'Albuquerque, a close relative, who afterwards became Viceroy of India.<sup>1</sup> In 1607 at the age of twenty-one, Constantine married a daughter of the noble house of Olivenca. Soon after his marriage he joined a coasting expedition as a gentleman-at-arms and returned home ill. In 1612 he went to Morocco, where he served with distinction for two and a half years. Then failing to find preferment at court, he set out for India 'the common sepulchre of the Sas'. After a perilous voyage, which lasted one whole year, he arrived in India in March, 1615, when Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, who had been Captain-General of Ceylon (1605-1611), was Viceroy of India.

Constantine de Sa served in Malabar under his kinsman, Dom Bernardo de Noronha, and acquitted himself so creditably that he was made Captain-General of Cape Commorin, where he showed such ability that the newly arrived Viceroy, Conde de Redondo, with the unanimous assent of the Council of India appointed him to succeed Don Nuno Alvares Pereira as Captain-General of Ceylon.

The new General found the affairs of Ceylon in a critical state. His predecessor had patched up a peace with the King of Kandy, but neither that monarch nor the Portuguese were satisfied with the pact. It was merely a cessation of hostilities, because both parties were threatened by a powerful combination of rebels. From the time the Portuguese took over the administration of the kingdom of Kotte and had shown lust for

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<sup>1</sup> 1591-1597.



conquest. there had been a series of revolts. In 1603 when Don Jeronimo de Azevedo marched on Kandy, the Sinhalese troops deserted him at Balana under the leadership of Kangara Arachchi ; Azevedo had scarcely succeeded in fighting his way back to Colombo when another valiant lascarin, named Antonio Barreto, raised the standard of revolt. Prince Mayadunne, who had been seeking aid in India, had also returned to Ceylon and joined the rebels. Meanwhile in 1616 a pretender appeared, claiming to be Nikapitye Bandara, the heir of Raja Sinha of Sitawaka, and gained a following. All these were still at large. The King of Kandy who had been disappointed in his attempt to obtain aid from the Dutch, seeing that the rebels were threatening him also, thought it best to come to terms with the Portuguese, though he had captured their outposts of Balana and Sagaragamuwa. The Portuguese were quite willing to come to terms against the powerful Barreto, who had become Prince of Uva. But when the King saw the need of the Portuguese and that moreover they had received no fresh reinforcements, he modified his terms, which the Portuguese had no help but to accept. When this peace was signed, the Portuguese soldiery who had been freed from the necessity of being constantly under arms, began to break loose and harrass even their own countrymen.

Constantine de Sa, who was undoubtedly one of the most upright Portuguese officials that set foot in Ceylon, began to remedy these evils with great tact and prudence. He set the capital in order, to the great satisfaction of the citizens of Colombo, and went to Menikkadavara, where the Portuguese army was stationed. Summoning a council of the experienced Captains, he began to introduce discipline and appointed a new Captain-Major, chosen for his ability and experience of Ceylon. He raised new companies, trained the older ones and removed unsatisfactory officials. He also introduced reforms in the country militia, winning the confidence and esteem of the Disavas, Mudeliars and Arachchis. Meanwhile as the rebels were becoming active he sent an embassy to Kandy to humour the King and took counsel with his Captains about the best means of opposing Mayadunne.

It was decided that before taking the field, they should build a fort at Sagaragamuwa. Philip de Oliveira was accordingly despatched for the purpose and in a short time he built the fort, on the ruins of which the Sabaragamuwa Maha Saman Dewale now stands. When it was finished, the General sent the Disavas of the warlike province of the Four-Korlos to hold it against Mayadunne, and himself marched against Mayadunne with the rest of the forces.

Mayadunne had entrenched himself in the rugged and inaccessible Province of the Two-Korles. But the General, who had a Sinhalese Disava by his side, made a long detour and by forced marches came upon the deserted encampment of Mayadunne which he demolished. But sickness broke out among the troops, and the General was obliged to retreat to the fort of Saparagamuwa. Hearing of this, Mayadunne and the rebels followed the retreating army and cut down stragglers. The cautious General left a Portuguese force in ambush and pretended great haste, to entice the pursuers between the two sections of his army. They fell into the trap and were attacked simultaneously on both sides and routed with great loss. Mayadunne and Barreto escaped, but Kangara Arachchi was taken prisoner and executed.

Meanwhile news reached the General that Sankily of Jaffna was in league with the Dutch and the Nayaka of Tanjore, and was moreover stirring up the king of Kandy against the Portuguese. He promptly despatched Philip de Oliveira to Jaffna to reduce Sankily, which he soon accomplished. But the General's action in dividing the troops was much criticized in Colombo; and when news reached him that Mayadunne had again fortified himself in the Two-Korles and was stirring up the Seven-Korles, he despatched the Sinhalese Disava, Don Constantine Barreto, against Mayadunne, and himself proceeded to the Seven-Korles with the malcontents of Colombo. In the course of this march a party of lascarins brought him the head of Antonio Barreto, whom they had killed by mistake when he was in hiding after the recent rout. Mayadunne and his emissaries were beaten back and the greater part of the lowlands submitted to Portuguese rule. These results, achieved in such a short time and with such limited forces, raised the General's reputation in the eyes of all. And the greatest Sinhalese poet of the time, Don Jeronimo Alagiya-wanna Mohottala, whom the General greatly favoured, composed the *Kustantinu Hatana* to record these exploits.

The Portuguese were well aware that the King of Kandy was soliciting foreign aid against them and it became necessary to take steps to prevent their seizing any of the ports of Ceylon. The General therefore determined to erect a fort in Galle. He had scarcely finished the fort, which was a weak one owing to lack of resources, when he learnt that the Danes had appeared off Trincomalee. He promptly despatched an expedition by sea and decided to march by land. When Constantino de Sa reached Trincomalee, the Danish fleet, which had been despatched to Ceylon by the King of Denmark at the instance of Marcellus de Boschouwer, was about to set

sail in disappointment. One of the ships was captured by the Portuguese, another was wrecked, and the rest sailed away after helping Mayadunne to escape the pursuit of the Portuguese. Constantine de Sa profited by the opportunity to go to Jaffna, which had been reduced to a Portuguese Province. He arranged the government of the country and entrusted it to Philip de Oliveira.

Soon after this, Fernão de Albuquerque became Governor of India on the death of the Conde de Redondo. The Governor's son, Jorge de Albuquerque, had merited the post of Captain of Colombo, and it appeared to the father and the son, that the Governor's son should not be subordinate to any other than his father. Accordingly Constantine de Sa was recalled and Jorge de Albuquerque appointed to his place.

In Goa Sa remained without public employment till 1622. In that year, however, the fort of Ormuz was besieged by the Persians and the English in concert. The elderly Governor of Goa prepared a relieving force in a most careless manner, and the command of the hopeless expedition was offered to Constantine de Sa, in the hope of getting rid of him, as was whispered. Sa set out, but Ormuz had surrendered before he could reach the place. The Captain of Ormuz, who had escaped from the British fleet, was returning to Goa in Sa's fleet when he again escaped, fearing to be tried for the surrender. Sa was thereupon taken to task by the Governor. He put himself voluntarily under confinement and demanded an inquiry. The Governor was disposed to let him off, but Sa would not hear of it until the matter had been placed before the King of Portugal. At this stage Fernão de Albuquerque died, and his successor the Conde do Vidigueira received orders from the King to send Constantine de Sa back to Ceylon, which was accordingly done.

The return of the Captain-General was hailed by all, both Portuguese and Sinhalese. Jorge de Albuquerque had given offence to all. He had harassed the people, allowed Mayadunne to take the field, and a trick of the King of Kandy had caused him to suspect a Sinhalese Mudeliar known as Naidappu who had taken in baptism the name of Manoel Mascarenhas Homem. Naidappu was seized and sent to Goa, but died on the voyage. In fact the only useful work of Albuquerque was the erection of a small fort at Kalutara.

Though the people of the country had been offended by the severity of Albuquerque, the Viceroy had given orders to Constantine de Sa to erect a fort in Trincomalee and to attempt the conquest of Kandy. The General summoned a council



of his captains and with their approval he represented to the Viceroy the danger of attempting to conquer Kandy without a sufficient force, and that the fortification of Trincomalee against the Dutch might better be done under cover of the existing peace. The Viceroy accepted the suggestion and directed the General to erect the fort. The General, knowing that the king of Kandy would oppose the erection, proceeded to Trincomalee in 1624 with all his forces, erected the fort on the site of a Hindu temple, placed a strong garrison and furnished it with the artillery of the sunken Danish ship 'Copenhagen'.

The General knew that the King of Kandy resented the erection of the fort, and that the temper of the Sinhalese subjects was such that they would easily listen to any overtures of the King. He therefore made many attempts to please the people and the country troops. He reformed the civil administration and obtained leave to grant the Sinhalese officers villages for life, a thing that had hitherto not been done. He appointed Sinhalese officers to posts of honour and influence and greatly promoted matrimonial unions between the two nations. He also erected two towns for the use of the lascarins, and helped missionary activities.

As the Dutch were known to have their eyes on Ceylon, he resumed the fortification of Galle, improved the existing fortifications of Colombo, provided the city with more artillery and erected a powder mill. But unfortunately for him the Comptroller of Revenue, Ambrosio de Freitas, who was hostile to him, opposed all these designs and obliged the General to use for these improvements the money that should have come to him as pay. At last he offered the Viceroy to fulfil the duties of Comptroller of Revenue himself, but the Viceroy had not the power to grant his request. Meanwhile Freitas continued to send reports against the General.

Another step which the General took at this time was the expulsion of the Moors. They had made themselves very influential in Ceylon and had gradually risen to posts of trust under the Portuguese government in defiance of standing orders against them. In 1627 Noronha carried out the expulsion. Many Moors fled to Kandy, and Senerat, who was quite glad to have in his realms people hostile to the Portuguese, welcomed them and posted four thousand of them at Baticaloa.

The erection of a fort at Baticaloa was the next step. It was the port at which the first Dutch ships called in 1602 : and it was through that port that the King of Kandy communicated



with foreigners. Repeated orders had come from Portugal to erect a fort there, but without effect. The General now summoned a council and represented to the Viceroy that it was high time to undertake the conquest of Kandy, that the attempt required a good force, and suggested that one of the annual fleets that brought reinforcements from Portugal should be directed to Ceylon. The Viceroy referred the plan to the King and meanwhile directed the General to erect a fort at Baticaloa. The General replied that it was necessary first to strengthen the fortifications of the Portuguese camp at Menikkadavara, as the King of Kandy was sure to come down on the lowlands, if any attempt were made to close the only port remaining to him. The Viceroy approved the plan, but not so Ambrosio de Freitas. Undeterred by the opposition of the Comptroller of Revenue, the General refortified Malvana and Menikkadavara and passed to Baticaloa and erected the fort on one of the islands in that lagoon.

These hostile preparations of the General gave great concern to the King of Kandy, who thereupon offered the General a handsome bribe to desist. When this was declined, he began to stir up the Sinhalese Mudaliars, in the manner described in this manuscript. Between 1627 and 1629 the General made several incursions to Kandy unscathed. He visited Trincomalee and passed to Jaffna and invested Philipo de Oliveira with the knighthood of the Order of Christ. As he had not a force sufficient to invade Kandy, he pretended to give ear to the offers of peace which the King made while biding his time. On the other hand, lest Senorats should think that he did not dare to enter Kandy, he made an incursion in 1629, and again returned unscathed though beset by ambushes on all sides ; but in the course of the march he fell dangerously ill and returned to Malwana.

During his illness the conspiracy of the Mudaliars had opportunity to mature. His own Secretary, through whose hands all official correspondence passed, was a Mudeliar and a conspirator. And though some of these favourites of his were denounced to him, he did not believe the tale, as it was well known that the King was endeavouring to cause distrust and spread disaffection.

The plan of the conspirators was to persuade the General to take the field with all his forces, and to desert him at the last moment and join the King of Kandy. To provoke the General to take the field, it was arranged that one of the sons of the king should ravage the frontiers. The Prince of Uva, accordingly, fell upon Sabaragamuwa and devastated the land. The

conspirators thereupon urged the General to take the field. He was irresolute, as his forces were limited, and after placing the matter before his council, was minded to await reinforcements. At this juncture he received a letter from the new Viceroy, the Conde de Linhares, a kinsman of his, reproaching him with dilatoriness, and pointing out that the Generals of Ceylon should pay more attention to war than to trade. There was perhaps no Portuguese Officer whose hands were cleaner than Sa's. Stung by the undeserved reproach, the General decided to set out for Uva, and the rest of the story is told by 'Cardenio'.

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Expedition to the Kingdom of  
Huua made by Constantino  
de SAA de NORONHA

PRESENTED TO  
DONA LUISA da SILVA e MENDONÇA

*In the year MDCXXXV.*

F 1

To the Senhora,

Dona Luiza da Silva e Medonça.<sup>1</sup>

If we hold it an infallible maxim that one must conceive a thing before accomplishing it, the recollection of a grief so old will not be anything new to you : rather I think that to have accidentally had a different issue might be a source of credit ; but even if it were otherwise, you must remember that though death be a debt which must needs be paid, God ever permits its payment, not when we most desire it, but when it is most suited to us. And this memoir may perhaps mitigate part of that grief which you must feel [at the thought] that public report does not do justice to the purity of intention with which Constantino de Sâ undertook the expedition to Huua. That same report ought to regulate its own purity by the nature of the result, for you will not be the last to whom such injustice is done. And from the magnanimity of His Majesty you may expect, that when he knows the fidelity with which he was served, your house will rise to higher honours, in which may Our Lord prosper and keep you for many years.

Manicaravare,<sup>2</sup> the first of April, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five.

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<sup>1</sup> Widow of Don Constantino de Sa, daughter of Duarte de Mello da Silva, sixth Lord of Povolido and Castro Verde, and of Dona Margarida de Mendonça. See R.A.S.C.B., XVI., 141.

<sup>2</sup> Menikkadavara, the fortified encampment of the Portuguese. See Bell's Keg. Rep. 30-32.



Kind Reader. A soldier who served several years under the flag of the Captain-General, Constantino de Sa de Noronha,<sup>1</sup> and was with him in the expedition to Huua, offers you this apologia for his misfortunes, if what things befel under such circumstances deserve that name ; but they must deserve it, because as it is an ancient practice in this world to judge an undertaking by its results, we must needs give up the second thought ; and Constantino de Sa must dedicate his tragedy to time, imitating the disposition of the unjustly vanquished Esquilo, because such is the usual restorer of honour that is attacked by envy and the cloak of malice.

And if the certificates which you will find in the first pages of this work do not satisfy you, remember that they were passed on behalf of a man who died five thousand leagues away from his home, and at the instance of a soldier : which proves that they must needs be true. And I point out to you, Honoured Reader, that I speak to you as if you lived retired from the world or under the earth, for if you are a man who wears a sword at his waist, you must needs have heard who Constantino de Sâ was in India, and with what energy and zeal and spirit he served his King, from whose proceedings one can<sup>2</sup> infer that his death did not<sup>2</sup> come about in the manner that is commonly described. God keep you.

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<sup>1</sup> In the text *nra*. All such abbreviations of proper names I have expanded in the translation.

<sup>2</sup> These two words are written on the margin in different ink and by another hand.—Copyist.

[ I.<sup>1</sup> Diogo Mendes de Brito, gentleman of the household of His Majesty, &c., testify, that when on the orders of the Governor of India, I was discharging the duties of Captain-Major of the Field in the island and Conquest of Ceylon, the King of Candea despatched through the Seven-Corlas a Badaga<sup>2</sup> moor,<sup>3</sup> with the title of prince, making him a gift of the lowlands and giving him about two thousand men. He feigned himself to be Nicapita Bandar<sup>4</sup> or Suria Bandar, which among them means the descendant of the sun, the prince who then was in Telheiras,<sup>5</sup> and tried to cause a rising in the said lands, which Captain Luis Teixeira de Macedo<sup>6</sup> frustrated, attacking him with six hundred lascarins and three Portuguese, one of whose servants killed<sup>7</sup> him. Whereupon the King's plan failed. And when in [the year one thousand] six hundred and twenty-eight, Captain-General Constantino de Sa de Noronha was going to build the fortalice of Batecalou, the King sent Vigia Cambandar,<sup>8</sup> a kinsman of his, to prevent that work, who along with the natives of all these lands gave battle to the said Constantino de Saa, who with eight hundred lascarins and a hundred and thirty Portuguese made him give up the field, cutting off many heads, taking many arms and banners and making the people of the said land obedient. And I, having detected that these lascarins had dealings with Candea, sent the Disavas of Mature<sup>9</sup> and Safragaõ<sup>10</sup> to reinforce the said Captain-General. Thereupon the Prince of Huua<sup>11</sup> went to obstruct his way in the lands of Canduquera and gave battle to the said Disavas, but they routed him; and the King of Candea, seeing in the meantime

<sup>1</sup> This document is the original and consists of two pages of a large-sized sheet.—Copyist.

<sup>2</sup> Tam, *codagar*, lit. northerner, a name usually applied by the Portuguese to the people of the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

<sup>3</sup> Moor, in the sense of 'black'.

<sup>4</sup> Nikapitiya Bandara. Boccardo [497 *et seq.*] gives an account of this pretender. See also Historical Records of the Society of Jesus in the Ceylon Antiquary II., 130 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> This is a mistake. The Prince then at Telheiras, a suburb of Lisbon, was Dom João, son of Dom Philip Yamasinha. See Queyroz' Eng. Tr. 708-709. Nikapitiye Bandara was a grandson of Raja Sinha.—Q. 469.

<sup>6</sup> Disava of the Seven-Corlas Boc. 714. See *supra* p. v., n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> The pretender was not killed as stated here. His rebellion took place in 1616-1617.

<sup>8</sup> Vijayakon Bandara?

<sup>9</sup> Matara. The Disava of Matara in 1628 was Domingos Carvalho Cab. —Q. 655.

<sup>10</sup> Sagaragamuwa. That Disawani was so called because the Disava resided at Sagaragamuwa, a village situated a few miles from Ratnapura. The Disave at this time was Jacinto Rebelo.—Q. 778. See *supra* p. iv., n. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Cumarasinha, son of Senarat and Dona Catherina.

our army divided, came down on the lands obedient to His Majesty. Being apprized of which, I moved from the post of Manicravare and went to meet him, and attacking him, I dislodged him and he ascended the hill in disorder. And then in the following year, the same King sent four thousand men with Atapata Mudiliar,<sup>1</sup> a kinsman of his, to conquer the realms of Jafanapatao, because of the right which the Prince of Matala,<sup>2</sup> his son, had thereto through his marriage with a daughter of the legitimate King whom Changaly<sup>3</sup> killed : on account of which the said Constantino de Saa invaded Candea, because this expedition was well known to him ; and from that realm he despatched four companies and two Disavas in pursuit of the said Atapata Mudiliar ; and coming upon him they cut off his head and those of one thousand six hundred others. And from these aforesaid events I conclude that the Captain-General Constantino de Saa did not break the peace made with the King of Candea, but rather that it was the said King who broke it, and broke it in almost all the conditions.

And because these presents were asked of me, on behalf of the heirs of the Captain-General, I issued this in *vias*,<sup>4</sup> for the truth of which I swear by the Holy Gospels, and the signature and seal below are mine.

Given at Goa, &c.

D. MENDES DE BRITTO.

I, Doctor Lopo de Lagares Paçanha of the High Court of the King Our Lord, | and his Chief Justice of the Supreme F3v Court of Goa, and *ouvidor-general do civil com alçada*, and Judge of Authentications in these parts of India, &c., do those to whom this my certificate of Authentication shall come, to wit, that the signature at the foot of the above certificate is that of Diogo Mendes de Brito contained therein.

Wherefore I hold it as authentic and in proof thereof, I ordered these presents, signed and sealed by me, with the seal of the Royal Arms, on the fifteenth day of February, in the year [one thousand] six hundred and thirty-nine. Twenty *reis*, four *reis* for signing, &c.

Manoel Preto wrote it. . LOPO DE LAGARES PACANHA.

Without seal *ex causa* Luis Mergulhaõ Borges.

<sup>1</sup> Atapattu Mudoliar.

<sup>2</sup> Vijayapala, eldest son of Senerat and Dona Catherina. He was married to a daughter of the defunct King of Jaffna.

<sup>3</sup> Sankily Kumara, usurper of Jaffna, 1615-1619. The king whom he killed was Arasa Kesari (Harique Jara).—Q. 464. Two daughters of the blind King of Jaffna were married to the sons of Senerat.—Q. 737.

<sup>4</sup> In quadruplicate. The official letters to and from Portugal were sent in quadruplicate, one in each ship. They were called *vias*.



F 51 | Dom<sup>2</sup> Phelippe, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, on this side and beyond the sea, in Africa Lord of Guinea and of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and of India, &c. To all my Magistrates, *Ouvidors*, Judges Justices, and officers and persons of my Realms and lordships, to whom this testimonial letter of mine shall be presented, and to whom its cognizance appertains, doth to wit, that Dona Luiza da Silva e Mendonça made known to me and to my *Ouvidor-general do cível com alçada* and Judge of Authentications in those parts of India, through her proctor, Bartolameu da Silveira Bravo, that she has need of a copy of papers that require to be authenticated, and her request and petition having been seen by me, I ordered that there be issued a true copy, word for word, which is as follows :

Dona Luiza da Silva e Mendonça, by her proctor, Bertolameu da Silveira Bravo [states] that for the success of her petition in the Kingdom she requires a copy of an order of His Majesty, which came in the year when the Viceroy, Dom Francisco Mascarenhas<sup>3</sup> arrived, in which the said Lord ordered the General of Ceylon to remain in arms, in case the King of Candea should make any movement, in which case he should make war on him, in as much as His Majesty was Lord of that Island by virtue of the donation made to him by the King of Cota, Dom João Palliapandar<sup>4</sup> : She prays Your Lordship to order the Secretary of the State (of India) to give her the said copy, and he will receive her thanks.

Let it be issued, as it is not secret.

Goa, the second of June, [one thousand] six hundred and thirty-eight.

#### Minute of the Viceroy<sup>5</sup>

F 52 | Copy of the letter of which the above petition maketh mention.

Friend, Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, Viceroy of India.

I, the King, send you much greeting. As the information and opinions that exist differ as to whether it is expedient to

<sup>1</sup> Folio 4 blank.

<sup>2</sup> Also an original document of 8 pages consisting of 3 sheets of paper of which the 4 last pages are blank.—Copyist.

<sup>3</sup> Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas was appointed to succeed the Conde de Vidigueira (Viceroy, 1522–1527), but he had already left India for Portugal when the letter of appointment arrived. But letters of the king were apparently addressed to him.

<sup>4</sup> Dom João Peria Pandar (Don Juan Dharmapala. Peria Pandar is the Tamil form of Maha Bandara).

<sup>5</sup> In 1538 the Viceroy was Pero da Silva.



maintain with the King of Candea the peace which Dom Nuno Alures Pereira<sup>1</sup> made with him when Captain-General of the Conquest of Ceylon, or to make war on him, in order to decide the matter with due consideration, I ordered the Conde de Vidigueira,<sup>2</sup> my Viceroy of that state, to obtain the opinions of the Captains and persons of experience in Ceylon, whom he considers competent for the purpose [and discuss them] in the council that assists him, one of the counsellors present being that same Dom Nuno Alures Pereira, and so he sent me by the *vias* of last year an account both of what was approved in the said council and of what they sent him from Ceylon, along with a letter of his of the ninth of March of that year; and having seen all that, as well as what Constantino de Sa de Noronha, Captain-General<sup>3</sup> of the said Island, wrote to me thereon, and the opinion of my council of state, I decided, that considering the state of affairs, it was proper to maintain peace with the King for the nonce, and that due information be given to you of what was pointed out in the consultation which was held for the purpose, so that being well informed in the matter, you might do what was decided therein and was more convenient for my service and for the conservation and security of that Island because of its importance, though there could be no security, so long as there was a natural King therein, remembering that I am such of the whole of that Island by virtue of the donation which the natural King made to this Crown, and that he of Candea<sup>4</sup> is a rebel: and I charge you to furnish Ceylon with arms, powder, and munitions for any eventuality that may happen, and to keep the troops in readiness to fight, in case it be necessary to break with him, and to keep the people of the country well treated, without causing them any vexation, and to take measures for their conversion, inquiring whether sufficient labourers of the Gospel are sent to that Island, and whether the Religious<sup>5</sup> fulfil their duty in this! *fr* ministry. And as regards my letter to the King of Candea, which was sent in the *vias* of the last year, one thousand six hundred and twenty-six, in reply to one of his, and which, the Count wrote, that he had sent to Constantino de Sâ with the order, that since he was best able to know the King's

<sup>1</sup> Captain-General of Ceylon, 1616-1618.

<sup>2</sup> Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira.

<sup>3</sup> Constantino de Sa de Noronha was twice Captain-General of Ceylon. 1618-1622, and again 1623-1630.

<sup>4</sup> Sencrat had no right to the throne, as he himself confessed.—Antiquary II., 133.

<sup>5</sup> 'Member of a Religious Order', for which there is no English word. •

proceedings, he should treat the matter with the councillors who assist him and send it or not, according as it was decided therein : And as he replied that it was decided to send it, it seems good to me to tell you that the Count did as I ordered him.

Written at Lisbon, on the twenty-second of March, in the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-six.

THE KING.

THE DUKE OF VILLAHERMOSA, COUNT OF FIALCO.

To the Viceroy, 2nd via.

The letter is here copied from the original which is in this Secretariat, to which I refer ; and as Dona Luiza da Silva e Mendonça begged for it in her aforesaid petition, I ordered it to be sent to her.

Christovaõ de Menezes wrote it.

Goa, the twenty-eighth of July, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

AMAURO RODRIGUEZ.<sup>1</sup>

I, Doctor Lopo de Lagares Passanha of the High Court of Our Lord the King, and his Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Goa, and *Ouvidor-general do civil com alçada*, and Judge of Authentications in these parts of India, &c. Do all those to whom this my certificate of authenticity shall come, to wit, that the signature at the foot of the above copy is that of Amauro Rodriguez, Secretary of this State of India, and that the writing and signature of the despatch aforesaid is that of Pero da Silva, Viceroy of this State of India. Wherefore I hold them authentic, and in proof thereof these presents, signed by me and sealed with the seal of the Royal Arms, on the eighteenth of September in the year [one thousand] six hundred and thirty-eight.

*R 60* Paid twenty *Rês* | for this, and for signing, &c., four *Rês*.

Manoel Pretto wrote it.

LOPO LAGARES PASSANHA.

Without seal *ex causa* Gonçallo Pinto da Foncequa.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Secretary of the State of India.

<sup>2</sup> Chancellor of the State in 1632. Biker *Tratados*, II., 38.

I, Francisco Barbosa d'Andrade, Captain-Major of His Majesty in the Island and Conquest of Ceylon,<sup>1</sup> &c., certify, that the Captain-General Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, whom God hath, is dreaded to such an extent by the King of Candea and his Vassals, because of the bitter war he waged on them, that to-day they worship him as a god in all that realm, and the reason thereof, they say, is that he may not do them harm in the other life, to which God has taken him in the service of His Majesty ; and those who think otherwise deceive themselves owing to private reasons of hatred, or because of the property they lost on the occasion. For the reasons which he had for undertaking that expedition were that Abiaçinga<sup>2</sup> Mudiliar, a fugitive Captain of ours, came down upon the lands of Safragaõ on two occasions from those of Huua whither he had fled, and molested and carried away the cattle of the residents of the said lands, to whom it behoved to give some satisfaction, as it could not be done otherwise ; and finally this expedition was undertaken on the advice of all the Disavas, namely Luis Teixeira de Macedo, Disava of the Seven-Corlas, Domigos Carvalho Caõ, Disava of Mature, who gave his opinion in writing because he was at a great distance, Manoel Pestanha, Disava of the Four-Corlas, Jassinto Rebelo, Disava of Sofragaõ, and of many other persons who were present in that council and advised also that satisfaction should be given to the inhabitants of Sofragaõ for the affronts of Abiaçinga ; and those who now deny the fact think they are in part excused : and I certify moreover that the said Constantino de Saa rendered greater services to His Majesty in this Island than any other General, for he killed that terrible and famous rebel Antonio Barreto,<sup>3</sup> Prince of Vua, and likewise cut off the heads of forty of his Mudelliares in an ambushade on the hill of Dinavaca<sup>4</sup> in which he took part in person, | and thereby prevented a F 7 general rising from the year [one thousand] six hundred and nineteen to that in which he died, and restored to His Majesty the revenues of many villages, which on account of the violence of these rebels had previously ceased to obey. And moreover he cut off the head of Cañgano Aracho,<sup>5</sup> the ringleader of the

<sup>1</sup> Captain Major of the Field in 1630.—He was taken prisoner at Velavava.—Q. 778.

<sup>2</sup> Abayasinha.

<sup>3</sup> Antonio Barreto rebelled in 1603. He was killed during the generalate of de Sa. There are two accounts of his death: Q. 626-627, João Rodrigues de Sa de Menezes *Rebellion de Ceylan* 91-92 (Eng. Tr. J.C.B.R.A.S. XI., 509-10), and a different account in Q. 731.

<sup>4</sup> Denavaka.

<sup>5</sup> Kangara Arachchi, also revolted and deserted the Portuguese in 1603.—Q. 580. He was killed in the generalate of Sa.—Q. 625-729.

revolt against General Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, and of Vilapur<sup>1</sup> Arache also a formidable rebel, and seized Changally,<sup>2</sup> the usurper of Japhanapatao, whom the Conde do Redondo<sup>3</sup> beheaded in Goa. And he cut off the heads of nearly five thousand Badagas whom the Naiques of the opposite coast<sup>4</sup> sent to reinforce the King, and he turned the Moors out of Ceylon,<sup>5</sup> whereby he rendered a great service to God and to His Majesty, because of the spread of that nefarious sect among the Chingalas, and finally he rendered other services well known to the said Lord and performed with a gallant and untiring spirit: and His Majesty ought to give orders to punish rigorously those people who drew up false reports against that gentleman, saying that he did not give food to the natives when they worked at the fortalices which he built, when such was not the case, and I can affirm that as for food, he gave it to them out of his own means, and opium, and to many of them clothing, being for that reason and for many other qualities which he possessed, the most beloved and popular General that Ceylon ever had or ever will have.

And as these presents were asked of me on behalf of the heirs of the said Constantino de Sa de Noronha, I issued two of this tenor, and to the truth of both I swear by the Holy Gospels, as also to my signature below.

Given at Manicravare, the third of August, one thousand six hundred and thirty-four.

FRANCISCO BARBOSA D'ANDRADE.

I, Doctor Lopo de Lagares Passanha of the High Court of Our Lord the King, and his chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Goa, and *Ouvidor-General do civil com alçada* and Judge of Authentications in these parts of India, &c. | c/o all those to whom these presents shall come, to wit, that the signature at the foot of the above certificate is that of Francisco Barbosa d'Andrade, as I know from the testimony of the clerk who subscribes hereto.

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<sup>1</sup> See *infra* p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Sankily Kumara, captured and deported to Goa where he was beheaded in 1620. — O. 640.

<sup>3</sup> This is a mistake; he was beheaded by Fernão de Albuquerque. O. 690.

<sup>4</sup> Tanjore. — O. 643.

<sup>5</sup> In 1626. — O. 745.



Wherefore I hold it as authentic and in proof thereof, these presents signed by me and sealed with the seal of the Royal Arms, on the eighteenth day of September in the year [one thousand] six hundred and thirty-eight. Paid for this twenty *Rês*, and for signing, &c., four *Rês*. Manoel Preto wrote it.

LOPO DE LAGARES PASSANHA.

Without seal *ex causa* Gonçallo Pinto da Foncequa.

I, Amauro Rodriguez,<sup>1</sup> Secretary of the State of India, &c., certify that when I was in Ceylon, filling the office of Comptroller of Revenue of His Majesty, three years after the death of Captain-General Constantino de Saa, I heard it commonly reported, both by the prisoners who came from Candea, having taken part in the battle and rout, and by other natives, that the pagans recognize the said Captain-General as a god and that they raised him a pagode<sup>2</sup> and worshipped him, which is the same as offering sacrifices to one whom they dreaded in his lifetime, so that after his death he might do them no harm; and that similarly pagodes have been built to other Captains of His Majesty that were in that Island, whom they honour in the same way with sacrifices after their death, either because of the great valour or because of the rigour of war they made on them. And as such is the truth, and because these presents were asked of me on behalf of the heirs of the said Captain-General, I swear to it by the Holy Gospels.

Goa, the nineteenth of June, [one thousand] six hundred and thirty-eight.

AMAURO RODRIGUEZ.

I, Doctor Lopo de Lagares Passanha of the High Court of Our Lord the King and his chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Goa, and *Ouvidor-General do civil com alçada* and Judge of Authentications in these parts of India, &c., do all those to whom this my certificate of Authenticity shall come, to wit, that the signature at the foot of the certificate is that of Amauro Rodriguez, as is known to me from the testimony of the clerk who subscribes hereto. Wherefore I hold it authentic, and in proof thereof these presents, signed

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<sup>1</sup> This certificate is also given by Q. 779.

<sup>2</sup> This word has been used by the Portuguese in the sense of (1) idol and (2) temple.

by me and sealed with the seal of the Royal Arms, on the eighteenth day of September, [one thousand] six hundred and thirty-eight. Paid for this twenty *Rês*, and for signing, &c., four *Rês*.

Manoel Preto wrote it.

LOPO DE LAGARES PASSANHA.

Without seal *ex causa* Gonçallo Pinto da Fonçegue.

The foregoing papers are here well and faithfully copied according to the originals, without any addition or diminution that might throw doubt on the copy. They are attested by the officials aforementioned who compared them with the original and signed below ; for which cause I order the aforesaid justices to give them entire faith and credit in law and out of it when they lawfully can and must give as to the originals if presented.

Given in this my city of Goa, under my seal of the Royal Arms of Portugal, on the eighteenth day of September, in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight. The King Our Lord so ordered it through Doctor Lopo Lagares Passanha of His High Court and his chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Goa and *Ouvidor-General do civil com alçada* and Judge of Authentications in these parts of India, &c.

<sup>F 8v1</sup> Paid for this paper three hundred and twenty | *Rês* and for signing, &c., twenty *Rês*.

Manoel Preto wrote it.

LOPO DE LAGARES PASSANHA

(and other signatures which are illegible.)

M. LUIS MERGULHAO BORGES.

Compared with the original.

MANOEL PRETO.

Compared with the original.

(?) D'ANDRADE.

EXPEDITION TO THE KINGDOM OF HUUA F 11

By CONSTANTINO DE SAA DE NORONHA

*Argument*

CARDENIO and Fabricio, two friends, both soldiers in the army serving in the Conquest of Ceylon, meet together of evenings (driven by the rigour of the heat) at the mouth of the many rivers that water the Island. Cardenio narrates to Fabricio the disastrous event of the battle of Huua in which he had taken part, the honourable death of Captain-General Constantino de Saa de Noronha, the reasons he had for breaking the peace sworn<sup>1</sup> by the King of Candea and Dom Nuno Alures Pereira, and for undertaking that expedition, in which he fell, the fate of some of the captives that were taken on that occasion, and other events up to the conclusion of the peace made near the river of Atapeti<sup>2</sup> in January (1)634 by Captain-General Diogo de Mello de Castro.

| Fabricio—It will not be bad to get into the shade of these F 11a  
trees, by the side of these waters and in the silence of these woods, to begin the story of Huua, which you promised to tell me, and which I hear described in the army in terms as improper and different as the persons who took part in that fatal tragedy.

Cardenio—I confess the same has happened to me, and that my head is not large enough to hold all the nonsense said here by men who deserve another name. But it must needs be so, not to belie the practice of the world of judging events by their results.

Fabricio—You know very well how the natives of Ceylon dislike new customs, and as the majority of us who serve therein have adopted their style and manner of life, we can trace to it the course of the things we hear. Let us sit down, and you relate to me the reason which Constantino de Saa had for breaking the peace sworn to the King of Candea, and the motives which led him to make that expedition to Huua, so disliked in its beginnings, and whatever else you think important for the promised narrative.

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<sup>1</sup> On 24 August, 1617. For the terms, see Historical Records of the Society of Jesus.—Ceylon Antiquary III., 49–52. Biker *Tratados*, I., 203–217, gives all the papers connected with this peace.

<sup>2</sup> Attápitia. The river of Attápitia is the Maha-oya.

Cardenio—The reason which the Captain-General had for making war on this king, was that from the kingdom of Matale there issued on his orders one thousand five hundred of those moors,<sup>1</sup> exiles and fugitives, who had gone there from the lowlands, and at their head a man whom they call | Nicapitta Bandar,<sup>2</sup> or Suria Bandar, which in the Chingala language means 'King descended from the Sun', a ridiculous belief of these people, who hold that the first of their kings had that origin, in consequence of which he was a relative of the said Lord. And his followers believed that to this man (who was in Telheiras at the time, quite unaware that he was going about in the Seven-Corlas barefoot and naked from the waist upwards), belonged the empire of Cotta, by reason of the kinship which Vierama.<sup>3</sup> Suria Adacin, his father (whom others call Dom Phillipe of Austria<sup>4</sup>) bore to Raja. But the success of this new conquest did not correspond to the design of the one who sent him with such an imposture, for Captain Luis Teixeira de Macedo attacked him with little more than six hundred lascarins and three Portuguese that he had with him at the time, and a servant of the said Portuguese cut off his head, after he had disclaimed the rank that was proclaimed about him, because he fought so obstinately and wildly that by his valour alone he would have routed the Captain, and had Luis Teixeira been less of a soldier or less valiant, there is no doubt that our Prince of Telheiras would have given us a sorry day. This was the first reason for breaking the sworn peace, founded on an order of His Majesty that came in the year in which Francisco Mascarenhas landed, in which was ordered that the General of Ceylon should remain with arms in his hands so that in case the King of Candea made the least | movement, war might be made on him, holding him for a rebel, in as much as His Majesty was the Lord of the Island by virtue of the donation which King Dom-Joaõ Priá Pandar had made to the said Lord. In addition to this, the King did not give any satisfactory explanation of this descent of Suria Bandar. And behold forthwith in the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 4. n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, this man pretended to be Nikapitiyo Bandara Cf. p. 4. n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a mistake for Vierama.

<sup>4</sup> There is some confusion here. There was no Dom Philip of Austria. Dom Joaõ of Austria was Konappu Bandara afterwards Vimala Dharmasuriya I., King of Kandy. The father of Dom Joaõ of Telheiras was Dom Philip (Yamasinha). Nikapitiyo Bandara was Dom Philip who died at Coimbra in 1608. See Documentos Remettidos da India, I. 106, II. 230, III. 263.—Q. 709. Nikapitiyo Bandara was a grandson of Raja Sinha of Sitawaka.



following year,<sup>1</sup> the Captain-General erected a fortalice in Batecalou, whereupon the war became completely declared, I do not know with what justice, since Dom Joaõ could not gift to His Majesty anything more than that of which he was Lord, and Candea had a lawful sovereign, as was the queen Dona Catarina,<sup>2</sup> whose sons<sup>3</sup> are now the Princes of Matale, Huua, and Candea, and there was no legitimate reason for breaking the peace which we accepted at a time when our need was so great that we were masters of only the two leagues of territory that stretch from Columbo to Maluana,<sup>4</sup> when Dom Nuno Alures Pereira swore it with such credit to the Portuguese that the King remained a vassal of His Majesty with the obligation of paying two elephants a year, and of releasing the two hundred prisoners that he took in the fortalice of Balana<sup>5</sup> and of Sofragaõ. But Constantino de Sa had no further share in this violation [of the peace] than that he twice informed His Majesty (when he gave orders to erect the fortalice<sup>6</sup> which I spoke of) of how little importance that port was, and that two *manchuas*<sup>7</sup> that were in Triquelimala<sup>8</sup> had blocked that door, through which the vessels of that King that sail to and fro had necessarily | to pass, but <sup>F 13</sup> in Portugal they did not understand that those who there gave information about such things, are like that soldier who asked His Majesty for the Disavaship of Mature and the village of Beligam,<sup>9</sup> undertaking to build a strong-place there to render the conquest of Candea easy, as he said, and to secure the fleet of China: nonsensical expressions so well known, as for instance to relate in Portugal, as that same man did, that in this Island excellent writing desks were made of crystal, when the largest piece that is found in these mountains is no larger than a man's fist; but this is nothing to what is

<sup>1</sup> Baticaloa was fortified by Sa in 1626.—Q. 751.

<sup>2</sup> Dona Catherina was a daughter of Karalliadde Bandara (Jayawira) King of Kandy, whose throne Raja Sinha usurped. She was brought up by the Portuguese at Mannar. In 1594 Pero Lopes de Souza conducted an expedition to enthrone her in Kandy, but the Portuguese were routed and Dona Catharina fell into the hands of Konappu Bandara or Don Joaõ of Austria who ascended the throne and called himself Vimala Dharmasuriya. He died in 1604 whereupon his half brother Senerat became king and married Dona Catherina.

<sup>3</sup> Sons of Senerat and Dona Catherina.

<sup>4</sup> Malvana, the residence of the Captain-General.

<sup>5</sup> Historical Records of the Society of Jesus (How the King of Kandy took Balana).—Ceylon Antiquary II., 135.

<sup>6</sup> Batticaloa.

<sup>7</sup> A largo boat with a single mast and square sail much used on the Malabar coast. From the Malayalam *manji*.

<sup>8</sup> Trincomalee.

<sup>9</sup> Weligama.

given in printed books, that the mountains of this Island are full of hyacinth and the rivers of precious stones, whereas these are not found except within a circuit of one brave league, or that the metropolis of Candea is called Angegama, and other mad statements written without experience [of the country] and it was because of the lack of experience of His Majesty's Ministers that there came a third order commanding the Captain-General without further excuse to carry out the erection of that *praça*.

F 13c Fabricio—It does not seem to me that the reason given about the descent of that Prince of Telheiras justifies the breaking of the peace sworn to the King of Candea, unless they ground it on the proverb of Accius,<sup>1</sup> *neque dedi, neque do infideli fidem*, since the donation had nothing to do with it. But this must not be so understood except when in the same contract one party depends on the other, for then the first who fails justifies the other. Cicero in the third book *De Officiis* finds | fault with this opinion and says that the poet puts this in the mouth of a wicked king and that it served the person who understood it, for to defend it would be to reduce faith and oath to deception, and he quotes as example Marcus Attilus about the Carthaginians, a story which you ought to know, besides others which we have in Europe which teach those of Europe how they have to observe their oaths, even though the person to whom the oath is given be faithless, and Scripture removes any doubt by the example of Josue,<sup>2</sup> who, when the Gabonites deceived him in what they swore and agreed to, did not wish to break his oath, though he could have done so by every right, but had regard to what would be said by those who did not know the stratagem practised on him, a thing which we should have done, in view of those who knew that we were breaking a peace sworn to a tributary king of ours whose lands owed us nothing.

Cardenio—There is much room for discussion in this matter on the one and the other side, and what we are now concerned with is, not whether it was unjust to the King of Candea (who, if such were the affair of Huma, might well be content that our sins cost us the heads of three to five hundred Portuguese, rather owing to pestilential and fatal fortune than to any fault of men), but that Constantino de Sa had nothing to do with the matter, except in that he obeyed an order given to him and showed his zeal by razing the pagodes of Candea, as he did.

<sup>1</sup> Accius, *Fregistino fidem?* (Hast thou broken thy faith?) *Neque dedi neque do infideli.* (None have I given nor give I ever to the faithless.) Cicero, *De Officiis*, III., 102.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. IX.

The reasons he had for making this expedition in which he fell were that Abiaçinga Mudeliar, the | chief of the lands of F 14 Safragaõ, had revolted and had turned upon them twice from Huua, and had come with enough lascarins to destroy them, so that there was not a head of cattle that escaped capture. And as there was not more than one hundred and fifty lascarins and two companies in that *disava*,<sup>1</sup> they could scarcely sally out beyond the limits of the fortalice to prevent this incursion, especially as he did it rapidly and like a thief. Moreover if we did not give the natives satisfaction for the losses they had sustained and an opportunity of recovering their cattle or others in exchange, they would quit [the lands of Safragaõ and go] to live in Huua, which is what Abiaçinga wanted, for he had been proclaiming the affability of the Prince so that they spoke of nothing less than going over to those people through a trick introduced by the rebel. Moreover it was not good for the reputation of His Majesty's arms that the insolence of Abiaçinga should pass unpunished, and the natives remain unavenged, lest the danger I pointed out should follow, for in Veirella or Altenor<sup>2</sup> which are the frontiers of Huua or of the Corlas, which is the same thing, the Disavas of Safragaõ and Mature cannot reside to prevent such incursions, because such a residence must have an end, for unless the lascarins steal or gain money by cutting off heads, for which they were paid a xerafim<sup>3</sup> and sometimes ten or twenty, they cannot be two months out of their homes, whence they have to bring their food, while it was quite different with the enemy, because they not only obtained their food therefrom, but even sold provisions to us; and if His Majesty should desire to feed them, it would still be impossible for them to remain: and if anyone says that there was a time | when F 140 musters were made in the one and the other *disava*, I reply, how does it happen that in Mature there are four thousand men and in Safragaõ only six hundred to be called in turn; which is the reason why they do not serve today, because in one there are scarcely one hundred and fifty, and in the other a thousand, so that of the two companies that are in Safragaõ at least one cannot be dispensed with, and the other was of no use there, or rather was placed in manifest danger, unless it were given three others from the arrayal. It is the fault of the one who placed it at a distance of five leagues from Candea, a night's journey, though experience had shown us that it

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<sup>1</sup> Province. The word *disava* has been used by the Portuguese to mean both the province and the officer in charge of the province.

<sup>2</sup> Uggal Alutnuwara in Kadawata korale.

<sup>3</sup> Xerafim = 3 Larins.



would not be in any other place as it is here ; besides it is now sixteen years that the army entered Huna, the natives of which thought that it was out of fear and because it would give us much ado, for which reason they were so proud that, in the battle of Ambatena<sup>1</sup> they did not want to flee and retired to a side of the river in close formation, about which they afterwards mocked those of Candea and Mathale. It is true, indeed, that they are better lascarins than those of any other part of the Island and that we were tired, which availed them at the time, so that our appearing to fear them and their being proud of the incursions into Sofragaõ were also a reason why we entered that kingdom. And finally Our Lord wished to punish the cazados<sup>2</sup> of Columbo and permitted the King of Candea to enjoy the revenues of their villages gardens, and houses, some for two years and others all his life, so that  
 F 15 they might not be such traitors | as to go against their own comrades and friends, and accuse them of things they never did : and this refers not only to the revenues of those who remained in Columbo but also of those who were taken to Candea from Vellavaya (which is the place where we were defeated), whose treasons are not pardoned by God, though they may be by men. The soldiers did their duty very honourably and gallantly and decided to die martyrs, and our Lord was pleased to give them three days during which they confessed and communicated from time to time and as often as possible. And as for their saying that they warned the Captain-General before his departure, that Dom Cosmo<sup>3</sup> Dom

<sup>1</sup> In 1629. See *infra* p. 36 and J.C.B.R.A.S. XVIII., 169.

<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese who came to the East were either 'soldados', soldiers, who received *soldo* and lived in quarters, or 'cassados', literally 'married men', who were the settlers and merchants.

<sup>3</sup> The Abbe Le Grand in his *Histoire de l'isle de Ceylan* (pp. 198-201) gives the following information about these mudeliars, taken presumably from *The Narrative of the War in Uva* of Father Phelipo Botelho referred to in the introduction.

'Cosmo was the son of a *chalea* or journeyman who peeled cinnamon for Pedro Homem Pereira. This *chalea* had amassed wealth and by favour of his master rose and became Mudeliar and was known by the name of Vira-Sequara [Wirasekera]. His son Cosmo was for some time in the service of D. Emanuel de Azevedo who was in command of the camp of Manicavare [i.e., Captain-Major of the Field]. Fortune favoured him even more than his father, and he became Mudeliar and took the name of Cola-Tunga [Kulatunga]. He made himself so useful in the revolt of Bondalho [Antonio Barreto] that he was given the chief command in the Four-Corles [Disava of the Four Korales] where he enriched himself. He built himself a grand house at Peleagore [Peliya-goda] near the river of Mataculi [Mattakkuliya on the Kelani] and gave his daughter in marriage to Dom Emanuel, Secretary of the General Constantine de Sa, and in this manner he succeeded in gaining the confidence of that commander.'—Lee's Translation of Rebeiro, 87-88.



Theodosio,<sup>1</sup> Dom Baltezar,<sup>2</sup> and Dom Aleixo<sup>3</sup> were in revolt, it is quite true. But as we had to go to Huua, God permitted that the Chingala<sup>4</sup> who gave the warning should escape to Candea fearing those whom they accused, leaving us to think that it was a trick of the King, as many of his oft practised tricks were of that kind, intended either to make us cut off their heads, or to make them abandon us, depriving the army of the authority and valour of those men : and this very thing had been tried previously when Constantino de Sa de Noronha first<sup>5</sup> came to this Island for the purpose of killing Maidapu,<sup>6</sup> the best and the most valiant Captain that we had in those days, in which they succeeded in the time of General Jorge d'Albuquerque,<sup>7</sup> though it is true that the General had very good reasons for killing him, and he had reason enough for his revolt, of which I do not speak, as it will be prejudicial to a third party. And the King | finally succeeded in getting F 151 Maidapu killed one way or another. And as this was his

<sup>1</sup> 'Theodosius, another rebel, a native of Sitawaka, was a descendant of Cotta-Maca [Kotta Marikar], a Moor of Cananore, who commanded one of the four vessels which the Malabars sent to Raju [Raja Sinha of Sitawaka]. Though the Sinhalese say that they do not make *mesalliances*, this Moor married a girl of good birth from Nabadalun in Siyane Korale. I do not really know whether it was on account of this *mesalliance* or for some other crime that Cota-Maca and his wife Monacami [Menik-hamy] were driven away from the province. Theodosius, his grandson, was forced to work for his livelihood. He took service with the celebrated Modiliar Fernand [Dom Fernando Samarakoon], afterwards with Constantine Barreto, after whose death he passed into the service of Constantine de Sa. It was under this General that he made his fortune. The General made him Modiliar and chief judge of the camp of Manicavare and gave him the collectorship of the province. Dom Emmanuel, one of the rebels, arranged a good match for him.'—Lee *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Balthasar who was in the same conspiracy was the son of a Modiliar who is believed to have been poisoned for having taken part in the revolt of Caniana Aracho [Kangara Arachi]. His uncle Amanacota Aracho had married the aunt of Theodosius which made the bond between them stronger. Balthasar had also contracted a marriage which greatly increased his influence in Siyane Korale where he himself had lands and considerable property.'—Lee *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> 'Alexis, the son of a kitchen servant of Raju and of a Javanese slave woman, was a poor workman. Luis Gomez Pinto who had employed him to tile his house at Vaculugam [Nacalagam] discovered some ability in him and took him to the army where he distinguished himself and acquired wealth. He pretended to become a convert, as all the Sinhalese do, but remained an idolator, so much so that they had found him sacrificing to Buddhum under the tree Sirimaha Bodini among the ruins of Anurajapure.'—Lee *l. c.*

<sup>4</sup> Sinhalese.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 7, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Nayidappu, a Sinhalese Mudliyar, whose Christian name was Manoel Mascarenhas Homem.—Q. 733.

<sup>7</sup> Captain-General of Ceylon, 1622-1623.

usual trick, where is the man who would believe that those who revolted would do so, when that King had not as many villages for his despenca<sup>1</sup> as the least of these had, for leaving out those of the Queen, which are twelve, the house of Candea has nothing more than Alarliua,<sup>2</sup> Digilige,<sup>3</sup> Pax Gamma,<sup>4</sup> Gampala,<sup>5</sup> and Naraovita,<sup>6</sup> which villages, though extensive, cannot yet yield more than that of the worst which the last named [rebel] had. Wherefore the proceedings of these fidalgos found the reward of their labours in one hundred candis of rice divided among five, for in the list given above I forgot Dom Manoel the *banaca*.<sup>7</sup>

Fabricio—Why did Constantino de Sa not arrest this Chingala who gave the information, keep him in jail, and inquire into the truth of it at leisure ?

Cardenio—Arrested he was, but as soon as the rebels heard of it, they managed things in such a way by secret means (for such were never wanting in Ceylon) that he unsaid and owned that he brought that accusation out of hatred of Dom Cosmo and for no other reason. And the reason why the General did not order his head to be cut off was that he was a lascarin with [powerful] kinsmen and had served well, and because it was no time for such matters, a thing which the lascarin F 16 knew ; and it is for that reason that he unsaid, | and it must be because they paid him. And in addition to this, as soon as they released him, he went to Vilaçem,<sup>8</sup> in the territories of Candea, fearing those against whom he informed : whereupon it was believed to be a stratagem of the King.

It remains for me to say how Constantino de Saa undertook this expedition of Huua with the approval of the Captains whom His Majesty had named for his council of war in the Island, as Calixto Machado shows in a certificate of the Captain-Major whom we have now<sup>9</sup> and whom we had at the time, which he sent to Dona Luiza da Silva e Mendonça : and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the old Anglo-Ceylonese term 'dispense villages', *i.e.*, gabadagam.

<sup>2</sup> Haloluwa.

<sup>3</sup> Diyatilaka.

<sup>4</sup> Pasgama.

<sup>5</sup> Gampola.

<sup>6</sup> Naranowita.

<sup>7</sup> Interpreter. 'The soul of this conspiracy was Emanuel who carried the General's standard which was an office of great importance; the one who is invested with it is generally a confidant and a favourite. This man did not declare himself at once but was content to let the others act.'—Le Grand *l. c.*

<sup>8</sup> Wellassa.

<sup>9</sup> See *supra* p. 9-10

Luis Gomes Pinto<sup>1</sup> it was who told him at Maluana in my presence, that if His Honour had not the money for that war, he should be pleased to take from him ten or twelve thousand xerafins, which was the most that it could cost. And who would believe from the means and care with which Luis Gomes acquired what he possessed, that he would have placed the resources of his children in such evident danger if he had thought that we should be defeated in that kingdom.

Fabricio—How is it then that they say that not only was he of a different opinion in the council but that he wrote a letter to him from Sofragaõ to dissuade him from that expedition ?

Cardenio—So say his son and relatives and some cazados of Columbo who are hostile to Constantino de Sa : and as for the letter, it is true that he wrote one to him, but what it contained was | that he had spoken to the people of that *F 16v* disava and those of the Four-Corlas, and that there was not found in them the dispositions which they showed on other occasions ; that the way was long, and that as they had gathered their harvest, it would be more effective to take an expeditionary force without baggage ; and that he thought it better for His Honour [the General] to remain at Maluana and send the Captain-Major instead.

Fabricio—Could not one of the four Disavas that were in the Island and two companies with some cazados go with the Captain-Major, and save this gentleman from going to his destruction, and that of the Island of Ceylon to boot ?

Cardenio—That comes to the same thing. For as soon as the arrayal is cut down there, it is quite clear that the King would come down to meet him, and that he would go and expose his head in defence of that fort, which, not being completed, had no well within, as it was situated on a rock, and there was no water. And as for his remaining in that place with the troops you mention, Constantino de Sâ knew that the King was awaiting him with more than thirty thousand men ; and it was not right that out of the four hundred and fifty that we had, | including the Colombo-born *F 17* and the cazados, who would not go unless he did, there should be taken as many as two companies, or [that it should be deprived of] the person of the Captain-General, who was the mainstay of the army, as even those who are disaffected to him cannot deny : and this was clearly seen in the descent which the King of Candea made in [1]630 upon Atapetî, for

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<sup>1</sup>Who had been Disava of the Four Korales (Q. 601) and Seven Korales (Q. 612) and Captain-Major of the Field (Q. 776). He fell at Vellavaya (Q. 778).



when the Captain-Major was sent to meet him on the advice of the council of the Captains, he halted on the way on account of the strong position in which the King was, and wrote to Constantino de Saa that it did not seem good to give battle to the enemy unless His Honour were present; that he should come with as many troops as possible, because it was necessary to attack the enemy in his encampments which were very strong. But as soon as the King learnt that the General was in the arrayal, he broke camp and climbed the hills: such was the power of his reputation. Besides, he had other reasons which obliged him not to remain, as for instance that letter which the Conde de Linhares<sup>1</sup> wrote to him, which was so contrary to truth and so contrary to what was due to his reputation, which had even reached the children of the catechism class, if it had not reached the Count. [Another reason was] the knowledge that the lascarins would fight better in his company owing to the deeds whereby he had laid them under obligation. And for remaining behind there was no other reason than the selfish one of [saving] his<sup>p 17</sup> life; not that he wished to go to his destruction, a ridiculous supposition to those who know him, but that the rest must pass through the same fate. And finally as it was not right [to entrust the army to another] and as there was no one to entrust it to, and as the army was going, he went also, after gaining the Jubilee of the Forti-uncula<sup>2</sup> along with those of his company, on Saturday the second of August, a most unlucky day for beginning a march, because it was a Saturday and one of the 34 unlucky days that the year has, though on account of the first reason many devout persons would begin marches on that day, in whose case their faith in Our Lady removes the malignity of the planet and saves them from the danger which they would otherwise incur: but as that miraculous favour is not given to all, it failed us, for there were disorders enough to make us go headlong.

On the fifteenth day we were at Delgaçina,<sup>3</sup> which is the entrance to that kingdom, and three days later in the city of Badulê, its capital, where we had an encounter with their Highnesses, who numbered no less than four in that array, the King and his three sons. But as they had the cards in their hands, and as it did not seem good to deal them to us, we gave the cards with which they afterwards won the

<sup>1</sup> Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, Viceroy 1629-1633.

<sup>2</sup> A Plenary Indulgence.

<sup>3</sup> That it was a Saturday, a day dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

<sup>4</sup> Dalgashinna, near Haputale.



up the strong position in which they were lodged with a feint of resistance ; and we after burning the city and things worthy of memory (such as the temple of the | god Catragamma,<sup>1</sup> *F 18* to whose wrath the enemy afterwards attributed the disaster which befel us) we retired to a pagode<sup>2</sup> large enough for our lodgings, which on account of a stone wall and a ditch on one side, and the river on the other, protected us during the two days we were therein, during which we destroyed the fields, burning more than two thousand measures of rice in the stalk, each of which might amount to two *moyos* and more ; and we took some cattle and drove others to the frontier with a guard of two thousand lascarins, to the satisfaction of the doers of that deed, most of whom were from the lands of Sofragaõ : but as in the course of these, their leaders were quarrelling as to who should be the leader of the rising, one of them named Adamanansuri<sup>3</sup> Arache, who wished to be such, for being a Captain as he was, seeing that the honoured title was denied to him, informed the Captain-General how the others had revolted (and how they were trying to burn our munitions so that in that way they might cut our throats, before<sup>4</sup>) we issued from the place in which we were.

On this news the General summoned the Captains to a council, wherein after various opinions, it was decided that we should retire and call the Modeliares (a dignity which they had all merited<sup>5</sup>) and that there should be restored to them the vidanaships of the smiths which Lançarote de Seixas had withdrawn from them as soon as he took charge<sup>6</sup> of the office of Comptroller of Revenue, on the ground that they were posts | pertaining to his department, giving as reason *F 18v* that they robbed the King and did not deserve to be made Vidanas of the Corlas, each in the one of which he was a native.

Fabricio—I am new to this Island and do not know what a Corla or a Vidana is.

Cardenio—Vidana is the same as chief of a village or villages, and a Corla is a district of land consisting of an (indefinite<sup>7</sup>) number of villages, thirty, forty, or sixty (more or<sup>7</sup>) less,

<sup>1</sup> Kataragama Dewale, according to tradition founded by Vimala Dharmasuriya I.

<sup>2</sup> This must be Mutiyangana Viharo in Badulla.

<sup>3</sup> According to Sa de Meneses, D. Jeronimo Idurumaraturi (Edirimansuriya ?).—Q. 771.

<sup>4</sup> These words within brackets are in the margin and by a different hand.

<sup>5</sup> Interpolated by another hand.

<sup>6</sup> In June, 1630.—Q. 770.

<sup>7</sup> On the margin by another hand.

according as it seemed good to the first peoplers of the land obedient to His Majesty, for in Candea there is no such custom. (It is the same as county.<sup>1</sup>)

Having written the *olas*<sup>2</sup> of these aforesaid vidanaships, the General called all those who afterwards revolted; and without saying what he wished to do, he spoke to them with great prudence, reminding them of the loyalty of their ancestors, though it was precious little, and the benefits which he had heaped on them, such that they had never received the like from any other General; that if they had any grievance against Lançarote de Seixas, he would give them satisfaction therefor by these *ollas*, which he granted them in the name of His Majesty, and he swore by the head of the same Lord (an oath of great esteem and faith among the Cingales) to retain them as long as he was General, and other such things as seemed enough to him and to others of us who were there. And after this preparation and [the preparation] of  
 F 19 our souls and arms we sallied forth one morning | out of our encampments.

Fabricio—Please wait, and give me permission to put in a parenthesis here. Would it not have been better if Constantino de Saa, instead of giving them these *olas*, had seized them and cut off their heads, or drowned them in the river, for you told me it was so near?

Cardenio—It might perhaps have been better, but there was against your proposal the example of Pero Lopes de Souza, who on account of a similar suspicion had done so to Javirã Bandar<sup>3</sup> (the chief Captain of his army, and was destroyed along with the best part of six hundred men, because all those who were not Portuguese revolted against him). And to proceed: We sallied that morning out of our encampment with the preparation just mentioned, all clad in the best we had, the General in crimson and silver, which suited him very well; and we crossed the river with little trouble, because there was less water there than in other places; and as the force we had amounted to five thousand men, exclusive of the Portuguese whom I mentioned, we formed ourselves into three wings, Captain Luis Teixeira de Macedo, who was then Disava of the Seven-Corlas, taking one, Captain Domingos Carvalho Caõ, Disava of Mature another, and the centre, which was the strongest, being under the Captain-General, in

<sup>1</sup> On the margin by another hand.

<sup>2</sup> Acts of appointment, from Tam. *olai*, palm-leaf, as prepared for writing on.

<sup>3</sup> Mannamperuma Mohottala. See Q. 483-485.

the vanguard of which were Captain João Coelho de Carvalho and Jacinto Rebello, while the Disava of Sofragão and Captain Calisto Machado with eight companies formed his guard, *F 19v* who were also joined by the Disava of the Four-Corlas Manoel Pastanha with a thousand two hundred lascarins, as that was the post of greatest danger, as experience proved.

We marched on at a brisk pace and in this order ; and at the same [pace] the enemy came down from the encampments from which we had driven them, for they had recovered them as soon as we withdrew to the pagode. As soon as Dom Cosmo, who led the rearguard of the lascarins and had not yet crossed the river, saw the banners of the enemy, he shot down a Portuguese cazado<sup>1</sup> of Columbo, a great friend of his, whom as such he had desired to have in his company ; and having cut off his head, he and Dom Alcixo, who was the ringleader of this revolt, at least in valour, passed over to the foe with something like two hundred and fifty lascarins. And the same was done in the wings by Dom Simão, Dom Theodosio, and Dom Baltezar, each taking with him the lascarins under his command, which might be five hundred. Upon this desertion, we halted, because our ranks were put out of order, and the General showed no manner of perturbation, but reduced the three poor divisions into one, to which he made a short address, saying that the rebels had made an ill return for the kindness he had shown them, that up to that time he had never thought that they were the scum of that arrayal, but that even in the place they had chosen they were such (which was a prophecy) | and that with the loyalty of *F 20* those that remained he hoped to cut off their heads before going down the hill. And after this preparation we continued our way at a slower pace, because the enemy, on receiving this new reinforcement, had recovered his spirit and was coming down upon us with great rejoicing. We replied with the same [rejoicing] for though we had abandoned all banners, with which we were not wont to march in Ceylon on account of the woods, but only with guidons of little more than one fathom, this seemed a very joyful sight, considering how little taffety coats in India ; but as this feast was not a jest, but a reality, they came to exchange lead for lead and occasionally spear for spear, though in the second game they ever got the worst. Owing to this obstacle, which lasted the whole day, we marched but little, and at the end of it we settled in a place strong by nature though not on all sides, which we were not able to fortify, for the hill of Huua are bare with nothing on them wherewith to fortify : so that that night, on account of the

<sup>1</sup> ' Called João Bernades ' in marginal note. Cf. Q. 774.



advantage which they had on one side, they assailed us several times. And as they exceeded thirty thousand, it was very easy for them to reinforce themselves, but not so for us. We received communion between the daylight watch and half the foredawn watch, which time they spent in forming, and we in the aforesaid work and in detaching the men of service, because we burnt | everything, all the goods and provisions we had, and provided ourselves with munitions so that the natives who were carrying them might be relieved of that task. And with munitions and arms we began the morning of the second day of our retreat, surrounded by three armies, for into so many did the King of Candea divide it. The one which was on our way we attacked in the same order as on the preceding day, defending ourselves at the same time from the two which were doing the same on the sides. We fought hand to hand with all, wherein the lascarins displayed great courage and the soldiers great valour, and the Captains gave a very honourable account of themselves ; and the action of Captain Joaõ Coelho de Carvalho was considered to be in keeping with his quality, for being in charge of the vanguard at the ascent of the hillock, on which one of the armies was waiting for us, and it was the one in front of us, it seems the lascarins, who were in the companies in front of him, halted—it must be because of the bullets which certainly were many—and this Captain saw it (for he held the post I mentioned) and to put their comrades to shame, he got ahead of them all and was the first to make the enemy taste steel, with a valour admired even by the enemy, as we afterwards learnt. And the Captain-General with invincible spirit went in person valliantly and joyfully to all the places of importance, with the two poor companies which remained for his guard.

*F 21* And as he was recognized on account of his build | and gilt armour and plumes, which were white and many and unlike those of the others who wore them on this occasion, he ran no little danger with his company, seeing that the post was guarded with great care. And finally we got clear of the King either by our might, or because of a plan they seemed to follow, and reached the slope of a rugged hill on which all through the past night, five thousand pioneers had been at work, cutting down trees and laying them across the path : and whether it was because of this or because of our manner, before midday with little difficulty we gained the summit of the same hill, which was the limit of the frontiers and separated the lands obedient to His Majesty from those of the Kingdom of Huna. Here then, we halted, and after remaining a while we began to descend in a different order, because the men of the disava of



the Four-Corlas who fought the previous day in the rearguard and this day also changed their place, and in their stead came the two Disavas of Mature and of the Seven-Corlas, who had about three thousand lascarins. These therefore (as the path was narrow and obstructed by them during the preceding night) were attacked by the enemy with determined spirit. And it was such that he made them turn back in spite of the spears of the nine Captains who were there, namely Luis Teixeira, who was one of the two Disavas, and the Captains of the eight companies that were permanently in that part [of the army] ; but as nothing of this | sufficed, they F 21v went away and we tired ourselves in vain and realized that we had to do everybody's work. And if our sins had not led us astray, this flight would have been of little moment, so we conducted ourselves in such a manner towards them that we not only made them give up the fury with which they came, but also realize that we were even able to make fun of them, a thing which was begun by one of the soldiers of the army, whom you ought to know, called Joaõ Pereira, who taking off his breeches, cast them away into the wood and tearing off one leg of his drawers, as much as sufficed for his purpose, not only discharged his musket when his turn came to fire but taking the torn leg subjected one of the bystanders to general merriment and the rest to much anger : and after him there were not wanting others who did the same. But this merriment was put a stop to by a shower of rain, which taken in a contrary sense we might well understand, was like the one which destroyed those five kings in favour of Josue, who was in the same circumstances, because it was of hail stones, which fell only on the place where we were,<sup>1</sup> which is a second circumstance in proof of that miracle : or if taken in its proper sense (it was like that) which happened to the Egyptians and Jews, when the same hail stones rained on the houses of the one while those of the other were free from the danger. And not a little like this was the case of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who when a similar thing happened to the other army, defeated it with little trouble, for which reason Claudius said 'That when one | had God on F 22 his side, the heavens fought for him.' And to conclude the tragedy of that day, which left the last act for the next day, on the advent of the rain, the enemy began to pluck up courage and we to lose it, for our matches were extinguished leaving us only with little more than sixty spears against twelve thousand men (who covered our rearguard, the majority

<sup>1</sup> Many writers speak of this storm as a miracle, because it fell only on the Portuguese and not a drop reached the enemies' camp.—Botelho's ms. 3, quoted by Le Grand.

of them archers and spearmen), and we were in a sorry plight. As soon as the soldiers found themselves without light and many of them were wounded, they retired to the place where the rest of the army was, and gave information to the Captain-General of what was going on, who set out like a shot with four companies and a little more than six hundred lascarins to help those who were fighting. But when they tried to wade through the river,<sup>1</sup> which surrounded that accursed hill and which they had crossed before with water up to the knees, they were unable to do so, for so heavy had the shower been that in two hours there happened what you hear. And when this reinforcement retired from thence, the General though wounded crossed it with water up to the hair of his head, and a little more than half the soldiers did likewise. Of the sixty spears that remained, some retired, though badly wounded, which meant half less. And of the thirty

*F 22v* that remained | they killed eight and captured twenty-two after they had been torn to bits. And they deserved great praise, for they chose to remain, though they might have gone with the others, since all had the same reason. Nay, because some told the others to go, they exchanged words and from words they came to blows, a madness so amazing that it could take place only among Portuguese, but it was an honourable madness. The captured were, all the Captains less one, who was very badly wounded, namely Luis Teixeira de Macedo, the Sergeant-Major Miguel da Fonseca, who fought most valiantly, Captain Vissente de Medonça, who though quite new in that office, fulfilled all the better the hopes we had of him, Captain Simão Vieira de Valadares, who aiming his spear at the belly of a Chingala, ran him through, and as he was unable to draw it out, because there were so many upon him, let it go and seizing the sabre of his adversary felled him dead at his feet—but in the case of this Captain deeds of valour are nothing now, for he is a veteran soldier who has performed many another feat, which unlike this, has given his arm the reputation in which we hold him to-day—Captain Calisto Machado and Captain Francisco de Quintal

*F 23* Pereira, | who being still a youth with scarcely any down on his cheek, said to me smiling, for I also was one of those who were there, 'These villains do not aim at me because they know that I am a relative of the King of Candea.' Yet for all that, he received an arrow wound and two lance wounds, and the kinship that he boasted of was that he was a grandson of King Dom João Peria Pandar, on account of which, when he was later on with the King in Candea, the latter

<sup>1</sup> Kirinda-oya.

said to him : ' Sir, Kinsman. Be of good cheer, for you are still comely. Here you are not a captive but only detained.' And he replied ' Sire, the occasion in which I was captured was so honourable that I have no reason for sadness. I am not given to mirth, which is a characteristic of all Portuguese : and as I have nothing of a Chingala, I follow the people from whom I proceed.' The King then asked him : ' But are you not a son of Senhora Dona Antonia ? ' ' No Sire,' replied the Captain, ' I am a son of João Vaz de Araujo.' The King held his peace, but he was not displeased at the words, and treated him with great courtesy. So much so that when he was ill, though there was no danger, he gave him leave to go to Columbo for treatment without obligation to return, a condition which he laid on others. But I think he did so to be rid of the disdain with which | this young man treated F 23v him, which was more contemptuous than fearful. Other soldiers also remained [prisoners], as for instance the Ensign Thomas Gomes, whom afterwards General Diogo de Mello made a Captain in recognition of his services and valour, the Sergeant Sebastião Teixeira, who seeing himself lost, began to eat the banner, Manoel de Aguiar, the valiant João Pereira, he of the breeches, Manoel Barbosa and others. But above all seemed to me the gallantry of Salvador Rebello, who is now with a company in Sofragaõ, who in spite of four wounds not only did not want to retire, but even wagered that he would be one of the last to do so, for as there were some very deep and narrow rivulets for some distance, the place in which we were quite alone could not be attacked except in front, whence it was that we survived so long, and whence the boast of this soldier.

Now you have the list of prisoners, but all prostrate on the ground and almost dead, and had we [been able to go] two hundred paces, which is what it could have been from the river where the Captain-General remained till he realized that it was a matter of death or capture, we should have been spared the tragedy which was enacted the next day, the eve of St. Bartholomew, the twenty-fourth of August, on the fields of Velavaya. For as soon as our Chingalas saw that the majority | of the Captains were killed, for so they thought F 24 them to be, and as those Captains were the most prominent and the oldest in office, they lost heart and gave themselves up for lost and went over to the enemy, a thing which they would not have done if we had not been ruined : and thence to Columbo we could have laughed at their Highnesses.

Fabricio—How was it that the saving of the arraya depended on your going this distance of ground which you speak of ?



Cardenio—Two hundred paces of ground we had to go in order not to be destroyed, because if we had reached the river we should have found the General there. That he was on the other bank mattered little, for we could have flung ourselves into the water and swum, and if we had reached the place where the army was, the lascarins seeing us would not have deserted, and if they had not deserted, we should not have been routed nor would the Princes have followed us.

Fabricio—It was the result of our sins. Go on.

Cardenio—They were alone, and (as I said) in the deserted army were some natives who wished to keep us company either because the majority of them were men of Columbus brought up among us, or because their honourable and faithful hearts did not let them abandon the Captain-General to his fate, who seeing himself next day reduced to such a plight that he had to pass the way of death or that of being taken [which were] the terms which the King of Candea  
*F 24v* offered him as soon as | the day dawned laid aside his arms and putting on a doublet and breeches of cassopo (for he did not like to fall into the power of the King alive) seized his sword and shield and spoke thus to the few Portuguese who were there. ‘Soldiers. The reason I had for bringing you to this pass are very sound and known and admitted as such by all present. But by some fatality we are doomed to destruction, not by the error of any man. Therefore let us die honourably doing our duty. And let each of you endeavour to act in such a way as to merit the fame which the valour of the Portuguese has acquired in this Island. And may God and the Blessed Virgin be with us, for the enemy does not give us room for more.’ And after these words (to which they all replied courageously and courteously, for Constantino de Sa was beloved and very cordial) that small band which was accompanied by some five or six hundred natives (who, as I said, did not wish to abandon us) fought obstinately and valliantly, both the one and the other, from  
*F 25* six o’clock in the morning till two | in the afternoon, during which there were killed three hundred and fifty Portuguese, and one hundred captured, the greater part of the Chingalas sharing the same fate of capture through the mercy of the foes, of whom something like eighty were found dead. And the Captain-General fell dead of a shot by which a soldier<sup>1</sup> pierced his heart by mistake. [He fell with] these words: ‘I am glad that my own kill me.’ And in other places died

<sup>1</sup> ‘He was a soldier of the garrison of Sofragaõ of the company of Temudo and was called Joaõ [Chistovaõ] da Fonceca.’ Marginal note. See Q. 778.



about one hundred and twenty Chingalas, on which account those of Candea respecting the valour which they beheld that morning in the Captain-General gave him a place among their gods, and to-day they honour him under the name of *Cusal-nete-deiyo*, which in the Chingala language means 'Luckless god', a name of great wit; and they were led to this folly [by this circumstance] that (besides the terrible war he made on them, which was the principal cause), when the Queen gave orders to bury his unfortunate body, they found it intact, while those of the others were in pieces, owing to the tigers, for which reason they could not give it burial. But three months afterwards, when this circumstance ceased, the King paid adoration to it on the first day and offered sacrifices in his honour, and ordered it to be cremated with sandal wood and sapan for they found it as whole and entire at that time as it was at the time when they killed him. ! F 25v

These are judgments of God, the depths of which our poor understanding cannot fathom, for heaven fought for the King of Candea, though he was an idolator, so barbarous that he denies a first cause, while we, who confess and acknowledge Him, are punished to the great glory of the idols, so that their priests proclaim that we suffered this rout because of the burning of the temple of the god Catragamma. And with what good reason can we who escaped it, join David in that famous and well known reproach about the death of Saul, and call down the same curses on the mountains of Huua, where with sorrow we left our kinsmen, comrades, and friends dead.

Fabricio—This story has moved me to pity and grief and I have also seen the truth about what happened, and the wickedness of the nonsense that is narrated. The truth is, Cardenio, that when God punishes us in this life it is because He wishes to have less to question in the next, and He never takes us to Himself except at the time when we are best disposed. Perhaps the same thing happened to these soldiers as happened to those of the army of King Dom Sebastian, of whom it is known by a revelation of Mother Theresa of Jesus, that at the time she saw the majority of them were saved. And since what you told me of his preparation and dis- F 26 positions is certain, we may believe that the same happened to him.

Cardenio—Father Joaõ Camelo<sup>1</sup> of the Society of Jesus told me that, when he was in Cochín, the news of this rout

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<sup>1</sup> Father Joaõ Camelo, S.J., was Superior in Galle, 1634, Rector of Nagapatam, Rector of Quilon, and finally Rector of the Jesuit College of Colombo, where he died.

arrived there and that he heard it said, Brother Basto a Religious who had a reputation for being confirmed by miracles, that Constantino de Sa and his companions were either in the enjoyment of God or in the way of salvation. And I know from a person who knew Constantino de Sa well that from the year [1]627 when he fell ill, while building the fortalice of Manicravare, he changed his manner of life and sent for a hair shirt which he wore three times a week and made his confession very often, of which I am a witness.

Fabricio—Is it possible that the Chingalas could kill a man from whom they admit they had received so many benefits that they could never receive more from a stranger; and that those whom he had laid under obligation should be the agents of his death?

Cardenio—It is the custom of all those who are born in them [i.e., Islands] to be traitors. And it would seem that St. Paul<sup>2</sup> had the natives of this Island in view when he wrote to Titus saying about those of the Island of Crete: '*Dixit F26v quidam ex illis proprium ipsorū. Propheta; Cretenses semper mendaces, malae bestiae, ventres pigri. Testimonium hoc verum est.*' And in these words he did not speak so much of those of Crete as of those of Ceylon, for it is never their custom to speak the truth, and they are so lazy, that if they have food for a day, they do not seek any for the morrow, from which I conclude that it is a most cherished characteristic of all Islanders to be perverse.

Fabricio—'Insulani pessimi' says Quintillian of those of Sardinia; and Isaias in chapter 23 complains of those of Sidon and Tyre, calling them false and dissolute. Besides we have other examples in human history which gives sufficient testimony of their villanies.

Cardenio—No small testimony is that of Richard, King of England, who while on his way to conquer the Holy Sepulchre steered his course to Cyprus, and when he announced the reason for his coming, they not only refused him refreshment as the Greek Church was always very hostile to the Latin, but taking up arms even attacked all those who had landed. But they paid for this, for Richard fell upon the coast and in satisfaction for this treatment took Cyprus. Moreover that noble lady<sup>3</sup> lost also her Hiblmantes, Tempes, Hesperides,

<sup>1</sup> Brother Pedro de Basto, S.J., a holy lay brother of the Society of Jesus. This incident is narrated in his biography *Vida do Veneravel Irmão Pedro de Basto* written by Father Fernão de Queyroz.

<sup>2</sup> Tit. I., 12. 'One of them, a prophet of their own, said: The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies. This testimony is true.'

<sup>3</sup> Cyprus.

Pinilis. And about the inhabitants of the Balearic isles Suetonius tells us of an instance in which | they showed F 27 themselves like these aforesaid islanders in the nature and manner of their proceedings : of Zealand, Ireland, Thule, and Scotland, the blood of so many martyrs in one, and the treasons committed against Jesus Christ in all, give better testimony of the infamy of their inhabitants : and especially would St. Thomas of Canterbury give it, whom in the Island of England they hacked to pieces and whose relics<sup>1</sup> they destroyed, a wickedness so astounding that I do not know any [greater] which malice and ambition invented. In the Indics we have fine examples of treachery done in the Islands, as in that of St. Lawrence and in the Maldives both to castaway foreigners and to their own native kings, which are the extremes to which the infamy of their customs can go.

Fabricio—I know the shameless men of this country. It is a quality they have inherited. And you weary yourself in giving me examples to prove the little faith that is in them. It is like counting the leaves of these trees. Let us on, for the sun is turning and tell me for what reason the King of Candea gave such a long time to Columbo to fortify itself, and the reasons for the beginning of this revolt, and whether what they say about this barber who was the head of it is true.

Cardenio—Immediately after massacring us at Velavaya, they would have marched upon Columbo, if the King of Candea had been with his army, but as God did not | intend the F 27v destruction of that city, after the encounter we had with the enemy in the city of Badule, God permitted that the King, who was a great Captain, seeing his sons engaged in the distribution of posts against his orders, should rush into the ranks ; and in consequence of his fatigue that morning which was great, there came upon him a fever and a frenzy so strong, that it seemed to him and to others that he was dying. And he began to cry out that they should take him to Candea. That very night this was done, and that was the saving of Columbo, because if he had been there he would, I say, have marched [on Columbo] without delay. The reasons which the sons gave for not doing so are very frivolous and are without any foundation or reason. This man was absolutely the best Captain, the best king and the best man that the Chingalas knew. By temperament he was gentle, inclined to letters and books, especially to the sciences

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<sup>1</sup> The text has 'despois de Morto,' which gives no sense and is probably for 'Despoios' as pointed out to me by Mr. H. W. Codrington. The reference is to Henry VIII. who is said to have ordered the bones of St. Thomas á Becket to be disinterred and burnt.



of astrology. He was versed in many of the languages that are spoken in the East, and he spoke Portuguese very well. He was liberal and a friend to the poor, and above all he was most valiant and resolute, and if he had been a Christian, he would have deserved a place among the best that are born in Europe. His beginnings were humble, for he was a *changatar*,<sup>1</sup> which is the same as a Religious. Afterwards when his brother Dom Joaõ succeeded to the kingdom of Candea through the treachery [practised on] Pero Lopes de Souza, he gave up his robes and took possession of the principality of Huua and was a general of the army of Candea, and fought with great valour both against Raju (who was a king, one of the greatest Captains that this Island had) and against Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo. And as he introduced himself among the lascarins in this wise, when his brother died and when the queen Dona Catarina refused to have him for husband, because she had been married to his brother, the defunct king, and had the kinship which I mentioned, they let him enter the palace, the queen being the natural sovereign whom they honoured as a deity. And after cutting off four or five heads, because they were opposed to what he afterwards did, he married her by force. And besides this which is a sacrilege (in their eyes), he killed his own nephew, her son<sup>2</sup> by the first husband. But afterwards he made amends for the murder [by giving her] three sons, and they are those who now are now in Mathale, Huua, and Candea, all very accomplished. He of Candea, who is now king, though the youngest (for such is the custom of these people) is a soldier, but sulky, inclined to evil, a great enemy of the Portuguese name, his own being Ma Hastana Adacim. He of Mathale is a great friend of ours and was extremely kind to the prisoners, for they won from him twenty thousand larins by trickery and loaded dice, and when they accused themselves of this trick, he replied: 'O ne barber shaves another. You did well, for I too have robbed you. He is a frivolous young man, very playful, and I consider him a better soldier with the foil than with the common sword. He loses the friendship of those to whom he is in debt. His name is Vigiapala Adacim, and finally he has the character of his father in his love of books and letters. He of Huua is called Comari Singe Adacim. He is inclined to sleep by day, is inconstant and is worth little. Fabricio—Inclined to sleep by day! In good Portuguese, that means a drunkard.

<sup>1</sup> A Buddhist monk, from Tam. *sangattar*, member of a *sangam*.

<sup>2</sup> Mahastana, son of Vimala Dharmasuriya and Dona Catharina, said to have been poisoned by Senerat,—Baker *Tratados* I., 223. Baldeu Ch. XII.



Cardenio—I was his prisoner for one out of the three years that I spent in Candea, and as he treated me ill, or at least as in his territories I suffered great hardships, the fault for which was not wholly his, I have no help but to treat him as my master, besides that respect is due to kings though hostile. And to conclude this account, he of Candea was (in fine) a well-made man, and though short, tolerably well favoured, and a gentleman in appearance. He was without his front teeth, owing to a fall from a horse, when young; he died at the age of fifty-eight<sup>1</sup> without any grey hair in [1] 635 and he must now be in hell | quite sorry for not having paid heed to what *F 29* he was told about his sect, which is so barbarous that only excessively brutish men, as the Chingalas, could take the heavens, the sun and stars and this world, as the heaven of their happiness; and finally his name was Henaraz Adacin.

To return to Velavaya. As soon as the Princes saw that they had such a victory, and were relieved of the fear of Constantino de Sâ, who, according to what was believed among them, was their most terrible enemy, because in their estimation he had built the fortalices of Triquilimalê and Batecalou, which was the same as placing his foot on their throat, and had captured the Chingala<sup>2</sup> king of Japhanapatao, the King of the Carias, and the Prince of Travapor, and had conquered that kingdom, killing in its defence very near six thousand men, whom the Naiques or Princes of the opposite coast had sent to his help; and had killed Antonio Barreto, the most terrible and renowned rebel that Ceylon ever had or would have, and such that from being the servant of a soldier (to whom Simaõ Pinhaõ,<sup>3</sup> Captain of Sofragaõ refused to pay *bichaõ*,<sup>4</sup> which is the same as quarterage or provisions, both because he knew him to be a fisherman and because he saw that he had a lame leg), became Prince of Huua and would have been | King of Candea, if fortune had not failed *F 29b* him, for valour and cunning he never lacked: and had killed also Canganarache, who was the ringleader of the revolt against Dom Hieronimo de Azevedo and who had cut off more than six hundred Portuguese in that famous retreat<sup>5</sup>: and had killed Velapur Araçhe, also a most noted rebel, forty rebel Mudeliars, all of whom he captured in an ambush on the hill of Dinavaca,<sup>6</sup> which practically cut the roots of a general

<sup>1</sup> See Q. 799-800 and cf. J.C.B.R.A.S., VIII., 247-248.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a mistake for Changali, i.e., Sankily, see p. 10, n. 2

<sup>3</sup> About whom see Ceylon Antiquary VIII., 1-5, J.C.B.R.A.S. XVI., 84-114.

<sup>4</sup> Sin. *vechchama*.

<sup>5</sup> The exploit of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo in 1603 when he retreated from Balane. See Q. 580 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Denavaka.

rising from the year [1]619, to that in which we are, an ambush in which he took part in person and by which he restored to His Majesty and to his vassals the revenues of two thousand villages, and the cinnamon of Mabada<sup>1</sup> which is at least one thousand eight hundred quintals, besides the three incursions into Candea, which he crossed in the face of these same Princes, and wherein he burnt the city and razed and burnt idols and pagodes, the battle of Abatena<sup>2</sup> in which they lost piles of arms, banners, and heads, the river being to them a good protection which led those who could swim to the other bank, and those who could not were drowned : a thousand six hundred heads which he cut off in Japhanapatao, and that of the Attapata Mudeliar, cousin of the King, to whom he had issued *olas* conferring on him the lordship of  
 F 30 that kingdom, because of the right | which one of his sons had to it by reason of his marriage with one of the princesses who were there, the daughters of the legitimate king whom Changali killed and would now be legitimate sovereigns of that land, for which they sighed, if their fortune had not preserved them for the exile in which they now live.

Fabricio—They tell me that one of those princesses is extremely beautiful and good, and gave a better account of herself than the others with regard to the prisoners.

Cardenio—They are both so. I remember one day—and let us put this parenthesis between the tears of this narrative, for it is also [a story] of tears, and everything is tears—one day as I said, I accompanied her from Candea to the river, which is less than half a league from the city, and Her Highness was going to Mathale, and that was the only time in my life that I spoke to her. She set out before the sun rose, and if you will not call me a poet, I will say that my Lord Apollo had put on a better covering that morning than he is wont to in these parts, thanks to the humidity<sup>3</sup> which is great in all islands. She set out (in fine) full of tears and sobs, with a face so singular for sadness that without exaggeration Aurora could have learnt from her how to weep, wild beasts venom,  
 F 30v and fields | grace.

Fabricio—So wild, that for this reason her tears will not stop at what you will tell her, for I think it impossible that you will fail to tell her some nonsense about them, as that this tree under which I am will fall without more breeze than there is now.

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *mahabadda*, the great monopoly, i.e. cinnamon.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. iv., n. 5 and p. 18, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The text has 'humanidades', but apparently 'humidades' is meant.

Cardenio—Thirty words<sup>1</sup> I said to her, and Captain Quintal who was also present at this sacrifice, as much, but as grief of soul, such as hers, is not cured by words, that of her eyes was doubled as she crossed the river, it seems because of the thought of the place whence she fled, which is where the cause of her tears lived.

Fabricio—This lady could scarcely have a reason proceeding from a cause which at least deserves such results in her eyes.

Cardenio—(From a question put to us we understood that) disappointment about a marriage was the base of that edifice, for which work there was plenty of material and even reason, for whatever offence was committed against the grace of those eyes was a capital crime. But I (really) confess that we returned home full of grief and envy, and there was someone in Candea, who if he had been there, would have shed them like mad.

Fabricio—Let us leave this Lady to weep, since her pleasure | in weeping will console her, if the first elegy of the *F 31* fourth book of Ovid does not deceive us, and continue the rest that Constantino de Saa did in the service of His Majesty in this Island, for I remember you said that his proceedings were only the result of principles.

Cardenio—You have noted well, for so I repeat.

Fabricio—But we do not all know that the Captain-General did all you have said with spirit and an unwearied mind.

Cardenio—We know ; but His Majesty does not, for he who has enemies has chroniclers who write doubtful truths, if they are not altogether masked, and as different from substance as the substance of what they relate and write is from truth. Constantino de Sa had the fate of some Captains to whom the immortality of time dedicated statues in repentance, such as Belisarius and others. But that is over now, and as it is the custom of the world to judge actions by their results, (as I have already told you) and as in his case these were so adverse, his face remained in the port of Brandaõ and on such a good day that they left him to take port therein. Let us go on, for Ambrosio de Freitas<sup>2</sup> will tell you the rest about Constantino de Sa. | And to return to the Princes : *F 31v* In the joy of that victory, so much desired by many and so little believed even after the event, they proceeded to burn the dead bodies of the persons of greater worth, which is a

<sup>1</sup> In this speaker's mouth thirty seems to mean 'a few'. Cf. next page .

<sup>2</sup> Comptroller of Revenue, the chief adversary of Sa. See Q. 741.

custom of all the pagans of India, and according to what we afterwards understood the dead were two hundred short of four thousand ; and it could not have been less, for the soldiers and lascarins, knowing that they were doomed to death, fought obstinately keeping it up for seven hours, during which they wasted not a shot.

Fabricio—How is it that, since the soldiers had given those of Candea so much opportunity, they did not kill them all, as they were able to do ?

Cardenio—Because thirty<sup>1</sup> proclamations were issued that no one should bring heads of Portuguese under pain of losing his own, but that if they were brought alive, ten larins would be paid for each, because as the King wished to make peace by their means, if they were killed, they would be of no use. After this cremation the rebels persuaded the Princes that Columbo was their Highnesses', because the moors who were there meant to revolt, as soon as they received the news of this rout, for which purpose they had left there Dom Manoel the Shield-bearer of the General, | to be the minister of that second massacre. But Lançarote de Seixas<sup>2</sup> put him to the torture and he confessed that he had remained for the business, but that he knew nothing more of it up to the present than the Cancapule<sup>3</sup> or clerk of Antonio Cutinho, Cutinaide, and Xaban, who in all were the three that could in justice be put to death.

Thus because Dom Manoel remained to prove his valour, (of which he showed very little when under torture), those deserters considered Columbo as good as taken, and told the Princes that they should remain three days in that place, because such was the custom of the Portuguese when they routed an army : that if the business spoken of did not have effect, it would matter very little, because Columbo was open on so many sides that the few logs that might be posted in those places could easily be destroyed by elephants, and that moreover to carry the city in that way would be a greater credit to their Highnesses.

They did as they were counselled, and in the course of the aforementioned three days, Prince with Prince and rebel with rebel, they exchanged many a buffet over the possession of the ladies of Columbo, about which afterwards we laughed a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 1

<sup>2</sup> Whom Sa had left in charge of the city of Colombo.—Q. 770.

<sup>3</sup> Tam. *kanakkapillai*.



good deal, the Prince of Mathale | and I. And at the end of *F 32v*  
 this sport, which lasted all the time we were there, they  
 decided that so and so should go to so and so, counting  
 them as if they already had them in their hands. When  
 that nonsensical dispute was over, as the time was short,  
 they raised anchor and with a calm wind they went in  
 ten days to Sofragaõ, which could have been done in  
 four days. And after taking that fortified post (which was  
 there without a Captain, for he had fled one night through  
 madness, as was understood, for he was a valiant man and  
 known to be such), they remained there eight days regaling  
 themselves with dancing girls; and after sending [the  
 dancing girls] to Huua, where almost all of them died, they  
 set their prow for Columbo in such a leisurely way, that  
 though it was only a day's journey, they took four, giving  
 'twenty-six days' time [to Columbo] for the work of fortifi-  
 cation, for which it pleased God to bring Antonio de Souza  
 Coutinho from Malacca in a galley returning from the rout of  
 Achem,<sup>1</sup> and there was much ordnance on board which was all  
 the relief that the city had. And this fidalgo took the side of  
 the lake, which was the part that was without any sort of defence,  
 under his charge, and did therein both in its fortification and  
 defence, what was to be expected from a cavalier so | valiant *F 33*  
 and honourable, himself personally assisting the transport of  
 palmtrees and the cutting of palmgrooves in the neighbour-  
 hood with much expenditure of his own means.

In the service and defence of the city, many cazados distin-  
 guished themselves, such as Jorge Coelho de Castro, João Vaz  
 Araújo, João Freire de Sousa and his brother,<sup>2</sup> Simão Freire de  
 Sousa, who in this siege wrought what they had learnt in the  
 school of so gallant a father as theirs was, who had rendered  
 so many services to His Majesty in this Island; the two Diogos  
 de Sousa, Antonio de Soutomayer and Father Domingos de  
 Negreiros, who at this time was Vicar-General, and who along  
 with the clerics (among whom a great place was held by the  
 Fathers Vinagre, Lazaro Fernandez and Diogo da Silva and  
 other relatives of his, as Goncalo Aluares de Nigreiros) defended  
 the bastion San Sebastião<sup>3</sup> with extraordinary valour. The  
 Fathers of the Society of Jesus with their students fought in  
 a breastwork which they themselves had erected with immense  
 labour and the Fathers of Saint Augustine [defended] their

<sup>1</sup> See Dan. II., 232.—Q. 782.

<sup>2</sup> Lourenço Teixeira the younger and Antonio da Costa Monteiro  
 Marginal note.

<sup>3</sup> The bastion facing San Sebastian Hill, Pettah.

wall, where those of St. Dominic fought with courage and dexterity, and those of St. Francis did the same in the place entrusted to them. So that when their Highnesses arrived to lay siege, they found that the walls which were <sup>F 33v</sup> were in no way different from the others, except that they were new, for men, women, and children had laboured at them with such spirit and without any kind of exemption, that during the aforementioned days they had erected a wall of palmtrees, *varicha*<sup>1</sup> and mud, but so strong that the old one was far inferior. With such preparations they stood about two months of siege and two general assaults delivered by sixty thousand men, of whom more than two thousand remained in the pits and water-runnels of the suburbs, those within not exceeding two hundred. And the enemy satisfied himself with destroying the gardens and razing what they could of the houses that were outside, and retired to a post which we call the Grand Stockade, a fortalice of Raju, near the Calane river, one and half leagues from Columbo. And at the mouth of that river the rebels erected another in the village of Cardevola,<sup>2</sup> five hundred paces from the post in which we shall leave them to find out what became of the two hundred prisoners that were taken at Velavaya, Manicaravarê and Sofragão.

Fabricio—(If you do not mind), first tell me the story of that barber, and what reason Manoel da Motta, Captain of that fortalice, had to surrender it, when it was so strong and <sup>F 34</sup> had so many men, munitions, and artillery.

Cardenio—The sun is sinking and we have a good way to go from here to the camp, and let us meet some other day, either on this bank or on that of Duravaca,<sup>3</sup> when you will learn the ridiculous doings of Manoel Mendes and of that barber, who would have given up all the lofty ideas he entertained as long as he thought that the King would put him in possession of the empire of his father in order to see himself once more in his little shop.

Fabricio—That day I reserve for the narration of the deeds of the prisoners, for which according to what you hinted (that day) would be too short.

Cardenio—This land is at peace, we are in good health and the time is summer, and do you not think that the statement of Terence is true that he has no merry day in his fatherland.

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *warichchi*, wattle.

<sup>2</sup> Kaduwala.

<sup>3</sup> Dorawaka.

who has not brought to the arms of his friends from his peregrinations some disasters to relate. I will meet you with greater pleasure than you think for the sad narration of what we suffered in this kingdom.

### | THE FIRST PAUSE

F 34v

Cardenio—This river comes down from the hills of Candea, and as it is an infallible saying that these rivers after paying their usual tribute to the sea return to whence they came,<sup>1</sup> on this second occasion that we return to these waters, let us bring back Captain Quintal, for if he comes, we shall not lack matter for laughter nor he for weeping.

Fabricio—That is the story of the bull and the snail, for the one who lives only on grass begged Jupiter on behalf of the other for some of that which was its own food on earth. Perhaps of all those who returned from Candea there is no one whom this philosophy of the waters fits better than you.

Cardenio—By your life, let us throw some earth on it, in this case even on the very trees, for they after all have life and can hear.

Fabricio—What does it matter if they hear me? So shameful a thing it is to leave Candea that it makes you throw a pellet of wax into the river with '*Sine me, liber, ibis in urbem.*' on it. Are the dames of that Kingdom perhaps not deserving of that wonder?

Cardenio—Many of them are not, | to one who has seen F 35 and dealt with them. But to one who looks at them from the precincts of the palace, as they beat mattresses with ears reaching to their waist, it seems they are.<sup>2</sup>

Fabricio—This reason does not hold good in the case of those of us who live in Ceylon, where we see and know Chingalas who outside this Island might even put beauty to shame; and it is clear that it is so in Candea, since it must certainly have many of that standard. Besides neither this river nor the leaves of their reeds, I think, would accuse us, if we, being natives, speak something that sounds ill to those who are not. If this had been a written thing, or if you were trying to write some book or novel, which has to go to Portugal, then you might adapt yourself to the experience of the people among whom it is to circulate. But to come to the point, it is quite wrong of you, since you were a friend of Constantino de Saa and a Captain under his banner for so many years, not to

<sup>1</sup> *Omnia flumina intrant in mare et mare non redundat, ad locum unde exeunt flumina revertuntur et iterum fluunt.*—Eccel. I., 7.

<sup>2</sup> 'Nonsense'. in marginal note.

write a narrative of the events of that war, by which you can at least give the lie to the many fables that are related about it. And you can send it to be printed in Portugal, since you have all that is necessary for doing so.

Cardenio—To reply to everything. As for their being pretty women in Candea, I know many, any one of whom can  
 F 35<sup>v</sup> wean a child without further ado | merely by showing herself : others are passable, but none has that exceeding beauty of which you speak. In the case of some, with the exception of that Lady of the tears and the Princess of Candea and at most three or four others, out of the four hundred that live in their company and service, all noble and rich in their way, there is very little. As for the narrative which you speak of, I would gladly do it, if I thought I had the ability for such a thing, for the press has given an account of some papers, the authors of which were on the last branch of this tree before their publication, and after the publication they showed how ill deserved that opinion was before being such, and how much better they are who do not print. Besides this, let no one put into your head that a book can be written without books. And after the King of Candea took mine from me, which without doubt were of those who published the best verses in Italy and Spain, I was free from that obligation, and no such mad idea ever came into my head. Let Constantino de Sâ pardon others who, though they had greater obligations towards him, issued certificates to an enemy of his, who afterwards had them authenticated to prove that he had advised him not to go to  
 F 36 Huua. I | will maintain with better reason, that the expedition was rightly made, for if between an army that is sold (vendido) and one that is vanquished (vencido) there is a difference of only one letter, who will be surprised that we were routed in Candea, since Constantino de Saa was not the first in the world to be routed without any fault on his side. And history is full of instances which can be quoted to our purpose, if we want to write the narrative you speak of.

Fabricio—The reasons you give are not enough for me, because a writing, succinct and without anything more than the truth in it, requires no more ability than that to speak clearly and to write without flourishes, for it is only a question of a dozen sheets of paper containing an account of four gashes inflicted there, and how God helped each one—which is all that this work will come to—and it is not a question of commentaries and Raymundo Lulio and the indecencies of Martial or the Odes of Horace, that you should have such a dread of writing an account of his doings.



Cardenio—How can you expect that from the forests of Ceylon there should come out a book that must needs be read by learned persons, when one has no more qualifications than the two precepts of the rudiments and the rusticity that is usual here ?

Fabricio—You will not satisfy me, and if your great laziness does not give you any disposition for the work, Captain Simão Vieira and I | shall have to rouse you to do it, for even if it <sup>17 36v</sup> were not done with the urbanity and culture and tropes which we could expect from you, it will at least be in keeping with our ability : and Constantino de Saa will owe this memoir to me, from which you can see how powerful the bare truth is, for I, without any further knowledge of him than, as you know, of being well affected to his affairs, am encouraged to return to them. Therefore continue the story of that barber and of Manoel Mendes and other things which seem to you of importance for the apology which you are going to make, without doubt, as soon as you make up your mind to get rid of your sloth.

Cardenio—Let us treat more leisurely about that matter : and now listen to the reverend Domingos Fernandes giving us amusement over his imaginary genealogy, for such was the name of that honourable barber whose thoughts were worthy of a different fate : and thus let us begin the first chapter of his valorous history.

There was in Columbo a barber, of swords<sup>1</sup> not of faces as you might think, whose shop and abode was in front of the College of St. Paul.<sup>2</sup> There he lived with a small household, for he was never married, his household consisting of two young slaves whom his madness made him keep in huge fetters, a cruelty which ceased | when that one of the temp- <sup>F 37</sup> tations began wherewith the devil began to harass the poor fellow. He was not poor in spirit, for never had the Captain of this arrayal to give any money for scabbards or other things which he sent to him to make ; and we never had need to spare the four vintens<sup>3</sup> except after we saw him a king, for from that time we never sent him anything to his house, for which he must have been mightily displeased, if he perhaps knew it. I say this, because of an incident which happened to me in his regard. The devil (thou) put into this man's

<sup>1</sup> Barebeiro das espadas, ' sword smith '.

<sup>2</sup> The College of the Society of Jesus. It was situated in front of the Camara or City Council, which was the stad-huis in Dutch times and is now the Consistory buildings, Pottah.

<sup>3</sup> Vintem.

head to make himself the son of Raju,<sup>1</sup> and what gave colour to this imposture was that he was born at Tanjore, a city on the opposite coast, and that there was no one in Columbo, nor anywhere else in the Island, who knew his father or mother, a thing quite possible for he was a Malavar,<sup>2</sup> though afterwards when his quality came to light, there were not wanting some who said that he was the son of a moor and of a Parava woman both natives of Tutucurim. - Soon he gave the King of Candia an account of his honourable birth and of the trade he was carrying on, and how he had learnt it to serve as a disguise; and he begged His Highness to be pleased to help him to recover the throne of his father which the Portuguese had usurped from him under the cloak of a donation which his uncle, King Joaõ Priapandar<sup>3</sup> (of whom Raju, as you know, was a brother) had made to the king of Portugal, which was not valid at law, because he came before his uncle [in the order of succession]. And in this way he said other things worthy of his wisdom, which was pretty little, since he did not heed the many sham kings who with the same claim of blood tried similar follies in this Island and had paid for it with their heads. The king replied to him with six hundred amunams of areca and ten bahars<sup>6</sup> of sapan<sup>7</sup> which he could have sold for five hundred xerafins, and a letter in which he told him that he was glad to have the account of his quality which he gave and to know the resolute spirit to recover his patrimony quite similar to that with which his father harassed us during the years which you must have heard of : that he would not fail him with men and money, but that it was necessary first to speak with some of the Mudeliars of the lowlands and to give them information as to who he was, so that thus with greater accord, His Highness might regain the lands of his father ; for which purpose he would write to the chiefs, as in fact he did, to all those who afterwards revolted, giving them an account of the aforesaid prince. And with these and other words worthy of his knavery, he must have ended [that letter on] palm leaf which was the second stone of the edifice fallen at Velavaya. And the King of Candea was not

<sup>1</sup> Raja Sinha of Sitawaka.

<sup>2</sup> This word was applied by the Portuguese not only to the people and language of Malabar, but also to the Tamil language and people speaking Tamil. Whence the use of the word Malabar for Tamil in Dutch and early British times.

<sup>3</sup> Dom Joaõ Peria Pandar (Dharmapala).

<sup>4</sup> Raja Sinha's father and Dharmapala's grandfather were brothers.

<sup>5</sup> A Sinhalese measure of paddy and other grain, *amuna*.

<sup>6</sup> A weight used in large trading transactions.

<sup>7</sup> The wood of *Caesalpinia sappan*, the Brazil-wood of medieval commerce.

unaware of the quality of this man, for granted that Raju had a son by a dancing woman of the opposite coast (a thing which must have come to the knowledge of our barber) yet unless he were fifty years old he could not be the same and the King knew that he had not yet reached that age. Moreover, this boy died in the lifetime of Raju in his court of Ceitavaca,<sup>1</sup> of which the king had witnesses in his house who had gone thither after the death of Raju when Dom Jeronimo de Azovedo entered that city. However, as he risked little by this, he did not want to miss the opportunity which, if successful, would win him so much. And thus he wrote to Dom Cosme and to the others who revolted, pointing out that Raju was the legitimate sovereign of this Island and that if he had heirs, the donation of his brother, by virtue of which the Portuguese had become masters of it, was invalid : that they were by all means obliged to give favour to that prince, son of Raju himself, who was living in Columbo in poverty, as they could see, and that he had in Candoa certain persons, so and so and so and so, who knew that on the death of the king, | the mother had taken him to Tanjore, of which F 380 he was a native (which is what the barber wrote to him) and that because he was a close relative of his sons, he had compassion on his misfortunes, and that he therefore would help him with men and money, if they would decide to give him favour. And he made them aware of the present which he had sent. On account of this intrigue and on account of the hatred which all Chingalas and other natives of India have towards us, the rebels became friends of revolution (a pagan characteristic) and began to visit the barber and to inquire into the truth of his genealogy. And as the information was of one well acquainted with the matter, and as they had known that Raju had a son, they did not mind the difference of ten years in the age of Domingos Fernandez, for they were well disposed. And as there was no disagreement in the belief that he was really Ma Adacin (which would be his name if he were what he said he was), they decided in the house of Dom Manoel, the Shield-bearer (whom Langaroto de Soixas afterwards killed), that they should give him their allegiance. This was accordingly done : for which solemnity they had excellent cloth and a golden Kris, which the liberality of Dom Theodizio supplied ; so that when the barber entered the aforesaid consistory, dressed like a king, they did | him F 39 obeisance one after the other. And afterwards they swore on an idol that they would help him to get possession of the Empire of Cotta, and His Highness must have rewarded their



labours (if they were such) with words, a sufficient return for such fidelity. And in proof of the many things he was determined to do for their advancement, he invited them to a feast on the following Sunday, and gave a hundred xerafins for the dinner. But Dom Manoel did not consent to the second point, and offered his house and fortune (of which he had no lack) for the banquet. There the bench which the traitors prepared for us, would have been deprived of its legs, had our sins not made them repair it, though with or without the barber the King would have caused a revolt on the score of the Princes, his sons, to whom, they said, belonged the lordship of Cotta, because they were also sons of the queen Dona Catarina, a relative of known degree of Raju, whose the empire was. Thus the aforesaid cavaliers on the aforesaid Sunday met the most serene one in the same house, and there with closed doors they all got drunk, and fixing their teeth in his throat, they exchanged a good many buffets, our poor

*F 39v* Domingos Fernandez getting | the worst of the game, because they broke a flask on his head in such sort that it became necessary to call a surgeon, for which task Dom André, the interpreter of the General, offered his services, for not having taken wine, he was in his senses. But he afterwards paid for the services of that day, because Dom Jorge d'Almeida<sup>1</sup> ordered him to be drowned along with the others who in that frolic had deserved that chastisement for the crime of having inflicted little less than thirty wounds on the skull of a man whom they believed to be their natural king. Dom Andre, after going out of the house, locked the door and went to sleep on one of the stone benches in the courtyard ; and though they knocked from within, he quieted them to some extent, saying that the Captain of Columbo was going on his rounds and that they should hold their peace, for he might pass that way and hear the noise and enter. Upon this lie they went to sleep, and on the following morning they were haggard and contrite before His Gentleness, who very graciously pardoned them the tropics and colures drawn on his head with the facility with which any other born barber, as he was, would have done, and at the time it was the best. And when Dom Andre brought a surgeon, they adorned that head with

*F 40* fifty | linen bands ; and laying aside his royal and very crumpled clothes, in which that livelong night they had almost reduced him to the point of not seeing the morrow, they made him a moor from the neck upwards, and below it they clothed him in a doublet and long breeches, whereby he became straightway a fit king of drunkards, as the authors of this

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<sup>1</sup> Captain-General, 1631-1633.



tragico-comedy were. And finally he retired to his house where he was visited and assisted by the same persons. He soon recovered, for though the wounds were many, none was dangerous. And the King of Candea being informed of what had been done about the acknowledgment of the prince, thanked them all, and to Domingos Fernandez he sent a further supply of areca, reserving his thanks for that good deed for the first occasion when we entered Candea, where he met the authors of it and thanked them with a chain and ring each, for the zeal and the manner in which they had treated his nephew, as he called him. And there they concerted what they afterwards carried out at Velavaya, though it took place much later than they had expected, for as often as we entered that kingdom, they intended to revolt, but could not carry their plan into effect, at one time because the king did not want it, on account of the few that deserted, at other times because of the equipment with which we went ; till finally on that accursed field they found the opportunity for the accomplishment of that conspiracy for which they had waited four years and ninety days ; at the end | of which arrived *F 40v* the day when His Highness was to meet the King. For which visit he greatly missed the two servants who had fled from him, because he had removed the fetters, as soon as he considered himself a prince. But as God never failed, he managed as well as his insufficiency permitted, and with a white shield (the insignia of a king, which must have come down from that dreary night) he appeared before the said Lord, who after the usual compliments asked him : ' Does Your Highness bring a despatch from the Judge of Orphans that we should put you in possession of the territories of your ancestors ? ' To which the poor fellow replied, that he brought no other despatch than that His Highness should look kindly on his quality. To which the King retorted. ' Nephew, I am sorry that you are so ill informed as to think of bringing a white shield, and forget the most important thing for your relief. You know very well that the king of Portugal has the privilege over orphans ; and unless you bring his renunciation of that right of being their guardian, how can I put you in possession of these lands which are his by every right ? And though they are at present under my superintendence, it would however be wrong to give them to you without the document I ask for, because there is one who will ask me for an account of what is ill done, seeing that you are a Christian. If you had been a pagan, it would have been a different matter.' The poor barber understood the mockery and became wroth and said, that since he was the cause of that rising, he deserved a better | reply. Whereupon the King declared himself more *F 41*

clearly, saying that Holagora Rala and Vigiacam, who were there, knew that the son of Raju, of whom he spoke, was now in the other world, whither he had set out in their presence ; but that since he had the spirit to wish to be a king though only a barber, he might serve him in that war, for it was not possible that such thoughts should rise in a heart other than bold, and that he had in his own hands the means to be what he hoped to be ; he would see to it that he was rewarded. Upon these words, you can imagine what His Highness felt, who half an hour before would not have exchanged his principedom for the best hundred villages in the Island ; and the most serene one of Candea showed himself a scoundrelly and unjust fellow in his proceedings with the other, for that hapless fellow deserved a better return. And finally, as the King did not remark that there was no sadder misfortune than one coming after joy, and as he expressed a thought so much to the contrary, as that a man could be of some service in war who in peace had the spirit which you know, he did not speak of the relationship between the two, which had rightly preceded. And the unhappy man, seeing the failure of his fortune, went to become an anchoret in the mountains of Vilaçem, where he lived philosophically. And I am sure, if now they restored to the poor man his hut, and if he had therein his two servants and his half dozen pots and other half dozen swords, he would receive them with a thousand tears and embraces. And as troubles are like cowards who pull a man down | and are not satisfied with moderate victory, it happened that this poor man (in the very place which he had chosen as the asylum for his sorrows) climbed a mulberry tree, perhaps to satisfy with the fruits thereof the hunger which he must have felt, and fell and broke his leg. But he did not remark when he climbed it that this tree was sprung from a tragedy so foolish as was that of Priam and Arisbo, for if he had thought of it he would have fared better.

Cardenio—This story is as pretty as it can be, especially [what took place] in the palace of the King. The poor man missed the luck of some people who with the same humble beginnings made themselves famous in the world. And I am surprised that though the King has the parts and character which you described, he should treat him so badly and not give a village in which to spend the rest of his life.

Cardenio—Those people who made themselves great in this world without being born such, did so by sheer valour, and history tells of some who attained to supreme power without it. But the aforesaid man is (if he is not dead yet) the quintessence of cowardice, for which reason the King made no account of him, for he was a mortal enemy of cowards.

Fabricio—I do not see how, as he was a Moor, there could be such a great example of valour in that man, the doer of such wickedness, a valour which in this case could have sufficed for both, to one not to be a coward and to fortune to let him enjoy the fruit of his valorous thoughts. Perhaps these are freaks of nature. And to conclude, tell me of Manoel Mendes, since the barber is in the place he deserved.

Cardenio—As Manoel Mendes was ailing in his leg and unable to march, the Captain-General left him in that fortalice of Manicaravare; and when the King was passing by after F 42 the war on Columbo, he wrote to the latter that since His Highness was a friend of the King of Portugal and was passing by that fortified post so opportunely, he should be pleased to order provisions to be given to him; that he took it upon himself to recover from the Comptroller of Revenue, the value of what should be given.

Fabricio—How valorous was the information contained in the letter. What did the King reply?

Cardenio—That he had no friendship whatever with His Majesty, rather great complaints against his Captains, but that he and the others should come and put themselves in his arrayal where he would treat them as he treated those whom he restored to Nuno Alures, because he did not want them for anything else except to make peace by means of them and restore matters to the former state. And Manoel Mendes cannot escape [the charge of being] an irresolute and worthless man, for whoever has opportunity of taking in more than thirty candis<sup>1</sup> of rice and *nachiny*<sup>2</sup> with which the women of Manicaravare had come to that fortalice, and after taking them of turning them out, as he afterwards did when they were without it (for they had sold it to the soldiers and had eaten it) and likewise to break the legs of the twenty bulls which came with rice on the day when he learnt of what happened to Constantino do Sa, and to do the same to as many cows and buffalos which he could have found in those hills without any risk or trouble—he has little cause to show who though able to do these things did none of them.

Fabricio—Had he means to profit by these | bulls and F 42v cows?

Cardenio—He had thirty timber-yards, the wood of which could have served him to smoke meat for ten years. Besides to surrender was cowardice; because they had forty candis

<sup>1</sup> A weight used in South India, which may be stated roughly at 500 lb., but varying much in different parts.

<sup>2</sup> Kurakkan, *elusine corucana*, from Kon. *niscene*.



of rice and a ripe standing crop of the same, extending in the ditch of the fortalice in the circuit of those hills, which is very near half a league. And one who has rice and water does not surrender. And as for the excuse he gave that he did so, because nine soldiers fled, and the Father had moved the others to mutiny against him to do the same, if, when he was informed of this intention, he had taken two or three and had placed them at the mouth of as many guns, and had treated through his friends with the remainder, for he had friends and they of the best, the King of Candea would never have had the joy of being the master of that post. And from this he would have gained great honour if the times had not been so bad. And if we could have obtained the little that those who fell at Velavaya had left there, we should not have been reduced to such miseries. Finally this Captain surrendered on terms, that each one should sally out with whatever he and his servants could carry, both silver and gold, and that the blacks belonging to the Captains who were in Candea, should take whatever each was able to carry, and that he himself and the sergeants of the bastions should be sent to Manar : all which the King freely granted. And after signing these honourable terms, these illustrious heroes went out as

*F34* Aeneas once did | from the fire : though it is quite true that the household gods, father, mother, and children they had there, were old rags which could have served that Jacome better who used to beg them in Lisbon for the lint of the hospital than those of us who were in Candea, mighty afraid of such a reinforcement. And the example of that pagan did not avail to make them bring us retables, though they could have done so ; and that with which they could have consoled those of us who were Captains they fully forgot. And in the aforesaid work they spent the day that was given them, and after that, becoming bearers of old rags, they began to tread the steep hills you see, and reached that illustrious city, where they were received with the courtesy due to men who had taken such trouble to relieve their naked comrades, who repaid them ill for their charity, for they gave them the welcome due to the fainthearted and shameless, Manoel Mendes getting no small portion of it.

Fabricio—So little do they care for the Island of Ceylon that they do not provide these posts in a way as not to fall in such cases.

Cardenio—All these posts depend on the arrayal, and in losing them we lose little more than the reputation and the pleasure of defending them. For when the army, or at least a part of it, is routed it is sure that there will be a rising,



as experience has shown ; and when | there is a rising, the <sup>F 43</sup> lands are wont to remain in the hands of the enemy for two or three years, as has often happened. And the fortified places in the interior cannot be maintained, not only because the enemy demolishes them and we become masters of the site, whenever we have forces, but also because they cannot be provided for such a length of time as to have provisions during the whole time of war.

Fabricio—So little is the means we have in Ceylon !

Cardenio—So little, because the expenses exceed the receipts by fifteen to twenty thousand xerafins.

Fabricio—How then does Ambrosio de Freitas maintain that Constantino de Saa owed His Majesty's treasury thirty thousand, since he used the resources of the Island for everything, the charges thereof and the work of the fortalices of Batecalou, Triquilimalê, Gale, Manicavarê, and Malvana, after which expenses it would seem that the sum demanded from him afterwards could not exist.

Cardenio—In the same way as Father Friar Francisco Negraô, chronicler of the Order of St. Francis, says that the *pingas*<sup>1</sup> of the Generals were worth twelve thousand xerafins, so he says that Constantino de Saa owed the aforesaid amount. You must know that these *pingas* are nothing more than an offering which the natives of this Island are wont to pay annually, and consist of some bunches of figs, two measures of rice and a pumpkin. And it appears that the Father, carried away by the thought that this acknowledgment was due to His Majesty gave him the advice | from which resulted the <sup>F 44</sup> order to hand them to the Comptroller of Revenue. And when he came to know how little that fee amounted to, the *pingas* again went to the General. But the proceeding of the two writers was not the same. In the case of one, it proceeded from ignorance, for he was a very good person and a holy Religious, while in the other it was due to malice ; for he proved the debt by absolutely false reports drawn up by unfair means. And the death of Constantino de Saa is the best testimony against that of his adversaries, for from his death we know that all the proceeds of all these [so called] abuses did not amount to more than nine hundred xerafins which was the value of the public sale of his property. When

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<sup>1</sup> Pinga or pingo, a load or pack. 'The pingo formed of a lath, cut from the stem of the areca or from the coconut palm, used as a yoke in carrying burdens.'—Ten. I., 497.

this was related to the King of Candea he remarked : ' He made a mistake, since he was so poor, not to accept the offer of forty thousand patacas which I made.' But he did not say wherefore, and the fact is that when three merchants (Sodagars<sup>1</sup>) went to Candea to buy precious stones, they were recognized by the King, and his people sent a message through them to the General, that if he desisted from the preparations he was making, he would make him a present of precious stones to the value of the aforesaid sum. Of this the Captain-General made a record and sent it to the Kingdom [of Portugal]. But against all this the lies of the others prevailed, because after all Constantino de Saa died. And it appeared to people that as he had daughters to be given in marriage, what he found must have been enough and he must have sent  
 F 44 it and must even have robbed. But time has shown that | those who thought so only deceived themselves through malice or hypocrisy, because not only did his daughters marry without dowry, but also that lady is to-day so poor that, had she in her house what appears from the papers drawn up out of pure hatred, believe me, it would have come to the knowledge of the persons there, for not only can no consideration hide [the fact that one has] gold, but it is a characteristic of gold to appear for as it is beautiful, one wishes it to be seen. Constantino de Saa always lived in debt in Ceylon, for such was its state in his time because of the five fortalices he built, on account of which he never drew his salary. And he served so well that, when he died, there were owing to him twelve thousand xerafins, as shown in the account of the factor Francisco Tristaõ, and from a certificate of his own which was sent to the Kingdom [of Portugal]. And the most that he sent to his family was that ivory sofa, a work which might have cost him five hundred xerafins, for all that glitters in it is not gold, and the workmanship (which is what may be considered here) required no expense, because the workmen were obliged to work for the General by an ancient law. And whatever else he might have sent would be about three or four thousand xerafins, consisting of some trifles of crystal which have no value there and cost nothing here.

Fabricao—That is true. And now that you have done with Constantino de Saa and have done with the barber and  
 F 45 Manoel Mendes | which were the narratives that remained for today, and as the sun is still high today, you might well begin the story of your fortune, for you admitted that he who from his wanderings has not brought some such story

<sup>1</sup> *Sodagar* or *Saudagar*, merchant.

to his friends has no happy time in his country. If it is no trouble to your memory, it will give me great pleasure to listen to it.

Cardenio— | A thousand times I regret to tell you of the <sup>F 46</sup> wanderings of the prisoners, for since the cause of it was public from this point, it must in your opinion always be the skin of the goat which Alcibiades paints, and they the simple folk which attracted by the exterior garb worship the follies which men relate here, in a spirit different from what their necessities caused. Some of the poor fellows entered upon this struggle because they had not the necessaries, others through fear; and though these are the reasons they give, others of greater weight could have been adduced: but as they were human and many of them young and inexperienced, circumstances changed necessity into a custom, which gave rise to disorders, which have been described with less than the due truth. And finally owing to subsequent events and prophecies of each one's fortune, there came into their heads a treachery greater than that of Cleonitus and Cleobulus and that master of Plato, though they were the efficacious lights of natural and moral philosophy, to be parties to this disorderly action, not by words but in deeds, and Aristotle<sup>1</sup> to whom all the world yields in this matter, was banished for a thing so improper that nothing similar was laid to the charge of a prisoner; and if they do so, it is falsely and treacherously.

Matters must not be taken in all rigour except if such has to be the case. Human and divine literature is full of so many examples in proof of this, that the least of them could well be an excuse, besides that it can be taken as Martial said to Domitian Augustus when dedicating to him the VIII. book of his Epigrams, *Aliquae jocosum mistura [sic] varietate [sic] cantavimus ne coelesti veracundia tuae laudes suas qua facilius te fatigare possunt.*<sup>2</sup> Thus I say, after we had passed that sad day at Velavaya, we set out the next day on our way to Candea, according to each one's condition, some on foot and others on horseback, with great | pain, at the merey of an <sup>F 46a</sup> honourable old man, the guardian of our misfortunes, for there was nothing else to guard. Great were the troubles we endured on this journey, because as the majority of us were wounded men, and the heat great and our lodgings small, we suffered great hardships, which ended in fifteen days, on the last of which we entered Candea, where we were received with little rejoicing, and were ultimately led to the presence

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle was banished for worshipping a woman. Inst. l. 2, marginal note.

<sup>2</sup> Sic.

of Her Highness (the Queen,<sup>1</sup> I mean, for the King, finding himself better, had gone after his sons). She spoke very kindly to us telling us that many honourable men had passed through such trials and that reflecting on this we should steel ourselves to bear the pain of the captivity in which we found ourselves, as experience would show. And she did as she promised, for in the business of the negotiations for peace she was the best agent we could have desired ; and she concluded with other words of the same tenor, all grave and worthy of a discreet and pious lady. She ordered the Captains and the Columbo-born men to be separated in one band, and the soldiers to go to the villages of the Realm, and with those that were left she and the Princesses of Candea, Huua, and Mathale, who were all there, with forty dozen Amazons attached to the service of the same, began to make inquiries ; to which they received answers suited to the questioners, for there were men there who could have answered differently in the presence of other women. And thus it happened that as they live five miles from the arrayal and are persons without  
 F 47 occupation, they knew the names and life and customs | of all of us who were there, on which account they favoured and consoled us much. And on taking our leave, the Queen ordered some houses in the city to be prepared, into which we retired, though this retreat was bitter to us by reason of the many occasions when in those very places we were seen full of plumes, arrogant and victorious.

Fabricio—What kind of features has the Queen ?

Cardenio—Very good, for she is tolerably beautiful and pleasant. She has a squint, on account of which the left eye is always closed which gives her great grace.

Fabricio—How old would she be ?

Cardenio—She says thirty.

Fabricio—I wonder whether you know that no one ever admits age, folly, and the *mal de Fransa*.

Cardenio—At least in the matter of age we all lie, and whether this lady does so, does not appear, because she never bore children and leads such a good life that it is natural she should be well preserved. But to come back to our account of her appearance ; what struck me most in her was that while the others were adorned with jewels in honour of this entry,

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<sup>1</sup> This is the King's step-daughter and niece, namely the daughter of his brother Vimala Dharmasuriya and Dona Catherina. After the death of Dona Catherina, Senerat took his two step-daughters as queens. The elder named Soria Mahadasin (Biker *Tratados*, I., 224) died in 1617. It is the other Antanadassin that was queen now.



Her Highness had none, either because, as some say, she greatly regretted the death of Constantino de Saa, as there had been some dealings between them and she had been resolved to leave the Court of her husband, not only because he had been the husband of her mother Dona Catherina, but also because he took her to wife by force, and had killed for the purpose of that marriage a certain Prince, a relative of hers, to whom she had been espoused for four years to her so great satisfaction that even to-day there may be seen in her eyes signs of grief; though there had been between her and the king other [griefs] which made | her take the satisfaction F. 47v proper to a woman. Either because of these reasons or because she disdained the ornaments of this triumph, she was without any kind of gala attire, yet so comely and so modest that she attracted the eyes of all of us who were there, seeing that in the state in which we found ourselves, there was little to strike the eye. And to end this description of her, she writes verses with a genius so wonderful that I was in admiration, for which reason I was acceptable to her and because she came to know that I wrote verses also, when we removed from Huua, she protected and favoured me with a very liberal hand.

Fabricio—Wait a while! The verses which this lady writes are in the language of Manicongo?

Cardenio—In Portuguese. I saw some of them. Had they been in that other language which I do not understand, I could scarcely have admired them.

Fabricio—Solomon says emphatically that there can be no wit in women. I wonder whether what you found in the verses of this lady was on account of the friendliness of the journey to Huua.

Cardenio—Solomon does not say that, but only that he had not come across a learned woman. The very reason for which women are born, which is to be the cold and humid seed makes them ignorant, but it is not a rule of art [like] *b p m semper scribiture m*, which has no exception, so that all have to be without intelligence. Those days were as pure. In these days we have in Spain and Italy wonderfully talented women, like Dona Bernarda, Dona | Oliva de F. 48 Nantes, whom Lopo in his Peragrino calls heavenly muse, Dona Clara de Varrio Nuevo, the two Izabels, Esforsia and Ribadeneira, the celebrated Marcella, whom I knew in Madrid when Philip III. was reigning, who gave her many honours and gifts. And if we paid a visit to Venice, we should find there Cassandra, who shone in lyric verse and of whom Polittiano said ‘O decus Italia virgo quas licere grates’ and

continued a string of Latin the paper of which could have served a shop of cumin seed, and if the author of the *Officina historica* has not misled us, we should find there Catherina Esförsia, Nouarella Ginebra Angella, Laura, Alexandretta, Ilißabeta, Magdalena, Clara Ursina, and others in large number, as may be seen in that author. And in ancient times, when it seems people lived with greater simplicity, we have Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, who is celebrated in Greek, Egyptian, and Latin literature for the Oriental History which she wrote, as well as for other books which time must have destroyed. And there have been in the world women who have not only reached the extremes of skill in arts but have even invented languages as Issis the Egyptian and the Latin Carmentes and Leontium who wrote against Theophrastus, though he was the greatest philosopher of the University of Athens, accusing him of many errors in philosophy. And finally read Plutarch describing the learned women of Greece and you will be disabused of the opinion that there is no talented woman.

F 48v Fabricio—There is no competing | with you. But my stomach cannot digest that a woman born in Candea, who has never seen any other Portuguese except those taken in Balane and those taken in this rout, could write verses with wonderful purity when the culture and climate of Candea is so different from Greece, Italy, and Spain.

Cardenio—Father Friar Francisco Negraõ, Religious of the Observance and Chronicler of the same order, was nine years in Candea teaching her and the Princes Latin and Italian, and she was moreover a daughter of King Dom Joaõ by Queen Dona Caterina, the former educated in the [College of the] Kings and the latter in Manar, where one may suppose, they educated her in the best style.

Fabricio—Be it so. Go on.

Cardenio—Lodged in that narrow city, as the majority of us were wounded men, and the lodgings of the saddest, almost all of us fell ill. And though they relieved us from the Palace, in that very relief we found our illness doubled, because the sick were what they were. Therefore we decided to ask the Queen to send us to one of the neighbouring villages where with the change of air, of which we were badly in need, we should get better, and that when the King came, we would return to the city, unless he was pleased to let us remain there. She replied by giving order to the *Odigarros*<sup>1</sup> to point out a place suitable for the purpose. | Finally they sent us Hirecava Gampala, and Diguilegua, where in a few days we

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<sup>1</sup> Adigars.

recovered our health, Her Highness taking special care to order us to be supplied with the little that Candea was able to do in those times as the harbours were closed as soon as Batecalou was built, and there was little wheat and sugar in Candea.

The King returned from the lowlands and ordered us to come to the city. There we took some money from the Moors and clothed ourselves, and as these were mourning clothes, we adapted ourselves to the scantiness of the country, in which we were for thirteen months, counting from the first day of our first defeat to that of the second, which was due to the fact that as the King endeavoured to keep us content, because he hoped to make peace with His Majesty, he arranged in the Palace a sport with foils and another game, wherein the Portuguese might find opportunity to show themselves off or fall foul of each other, for as the majority of the detained ones were Columbo-born men, accustomed to the license of India, and most of them perfect knaves, and those who were not Ceylon-born supported the trick of Thomas Gomes and Simaõ Vieira. And as all were able to speak the Chingalla language, within six days of the sport, they carried it out, this folly being due to the kindness of the King and their knowledge that he had need of them. Thus it happened that when a Portuguese, of whom the King was very fond, was going out of the palace at a time when two soldiers were going there, the latter flung a most terrible insult at him which concerned his house, both because he did not deserve to be in Candea and because he wore a suit which had belonged to the General, of green velvet lined with silver tissue and garnished | with <sup>F 49v</sup> the same, while all the others went about in mourning. And for good reasons, the authors of this deed being Chief Captains; both in office and in person, did not wish to seek sanctuary in the Pagodes, and returned to their homes, a matter which the King resented. And though when the matter was reported to him he said 'I am sorry they were not dressed also', he fixed a writing the next day on the gates of the palace in which he said that no Portuguese should enter therein, except the aggrieved one and Captain Miguel da Fonceca. On the following morning there was found another on the same gate in Chingala verses, the purport of which was 'After the ass is dead, why give it fodder? Eat yourself and take heed for yourself,' and other things against the good name of the King, which, had

he been a less sagacious man, would have turned out worse. But as he was a discreet person, he acted contrary to the first paper and reading it, he asked who had stuck it. They replied that it was the Adigar, which means the Chief Justice. He sent for him and asked him why he had set up that writing. To which the Adigar replied that his reason was no other than that it seemed to him that by that means he could prevent the Portuguese from committing such improper affronts as were made on Captain so and so in front of the gates of the Pagodes and the palace. However he said to him 'You should have shown it to me' and deposed him from his office. Whereupon some of those well inclined to him thought that His Highness had no part in the aforesaid paper, and I know of  
*F 50* no other | result of the affair than that when some discreet people commit a folly, it is like this.

The aggrieved one boasted of the fact, and clad more decently next day (for green was not fit for the second journey) went to see the King, to whom he related the story, chapter by chapter, and there was laughter on one side and the other, which was enough to betray the venom which was under that laughter. His Highness (finally) consoled him, saying that men who do not profess arms could not affront or be affronted, and that he should try to make friends with the Captains as long as he lived in his Realms, a thing which he did with good will. Friendship being made and the delinquents freed, the King took up the matter, and thinking they were Chingalás, made them embrace each other ; but under that embrace the aggrieved one concealed a treachery worthy of a coward and a half-mulatto, as he was : and this was that he went a few days afterwards to Prince Ma Hastana and told him that it was from no ill-will towards the Columbo-born, especially against so and so and so and so, that he gave him that information, but that all or most of them entered his house ; that experience would show His Highness, if he wished to know about it ; that God was his witness that it was only the obligation under which the King had placed him which made him give that warning. The Prince, being a youth of limited capacity, said nothing to his father, and decided to wait for the Portuguese as if it were good for him to encounter some of them, even if he were sure of killing them. There resulted from the watching  
*F 50v* that on the second night he met in one | of the alleys of the Garden, Captain Dom Francisco and a comrade of his. But as the Captains had brought their carbines, he contented



himself for the while with making them out, for there were words on the one side and the other. And from this recognition there resulted that on the second day the head of Dom Francisco was cut off, and that of his comrade would have shared the same fate, had not he and the majority of the other accused that very night, in which they were detected, made for the wood, a thing in which Dom Francisco had not wished to take part, because of the persistent and terrible prophecy of his fate and because he was born to die in Candea and his mother of sorrow in Columbo.

News of this disorder reached the palace and the Princess resented it so much, that on the first incident, it is believed she was beside herself, and the effects showed it, for she fell out with her father (that the Prince should quit the city giving orders to the doers of that deed) and throwing her hands at his throat, she had almost throttled him, addressing him with the worst words that her fury suggested. The Queen, who saw her poor husband being kicked and beaten by the Princess and had her share in the abuse addressed to him, seized a bottle and flung it at her head, from which resulted a jagged wound, whereupon Her Highness fainted and the King had opportunity to rise and retire and to complain of the madness of his children and the dishonour he met with in his own house.

| Our countrymen who were in the wood proceeded to write F 51  
to the Queen, especially a relative of hers, who was there, to whom she replied asking him to remain for the three or four days that the Prince of Huua would delay in coming ; that his arrival a remedy would be applied. And the Prince coming to the city at the appointed time, fell out with the father about some particulars of the government and left with the intention of passing over to the service of His Majesty, an idea which the Queen put into his head, because she was annoyed at the way in which the King treated him, disinheriting him in order to give to his younger son what was his by every right, and also because the relatives in the wood might go in his company, whom she recommended to him saying that as he was going with the intention of going to Columbo, it was not bad for him to take them ; and so he received them like men of whom he had need.

The aggrieved one was informed by the interpreter of the King that he had heard it said in the palace that he was the occasion of the death of Dom Francisco ; that if such were

the case, he should go with the Prince of Huua, for to remain in the city would infallibly lead to his death. He availed himself of this counsel, but it did not avail him to escape a miserable death, for the Princess, hearing of his journey, managed in such a way as to order him to be poisoned at Vilasem, and without confession [he died], with sufficient indications of the cause of his death, which I do not know whether he deserved, though felt I know it was, and we buried *F 51v* him at the foot of a tree. | And this lady in her well-known passion acted in such a way in taking satisfaction for her grief, that in less than three months the heads of more than eleven lascarins concerned in it were cut off ; and we know of no other cause for this contention than that Her Highness was a woman and that Dom Francisco was her relative and a most handsome person, in face and proportions, with natural and acquired parts enough to make his very enemies mourn his unhappy death.

Fabricio—This must without doubt have been the cause. But give me leave to call these kings of yours kings of playing-cards, if they are without courage, without honour, and without shame. And do not tell me that they write verses, for it cannot be believed that they do so except by a trick.

Cardenio—Martial has a distich on this subject with the usual wit of his works, and the substance of it is, for I do not remember the Latin, that when a thing is a received custom, it is wrong to follow a different one. Where did you see in India a king with courage, honour, and shame ?

Fabricio—The idolaters have enough examples in the lives of their gods to make it a custom of theirs to worship all those who signalized themselves in vice or virtue.

*F 52* Cardenio—Of the latter I know none ; while certainly in the process | of their lives I have seen such ridiculous and shameless things as well as blind and ignorant things, that in the midst of such enormities it is scarcely possible to have even a shadow of a divinity. As for the Moors I have seen what occasions they have in the brutishness of their alcoran, wherein I read in a translation made at Baçora by Father Friar Basillo, a Discalced Carmelite, nonsense so gross and so well known, that only those who are bent on erring can accept it ; so that in a king of India you must not expect shame or faith or truth, for both the one and the other have enough instruction not to have shame or keep faith and truth.

Besides they are men bred in perfect ignorance and without any kind of discipline in truth, given to vices and disorders, and except the Brahmans, no nation in the East has any knowledge of any science except a little Mathematics, which is enough for them to observe eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, and they cast nativities by a superstitious and false questioning that it is only by mistake that it is right. And finally of the other stars, signs and planets, they make a horoscope, which only they and the demon can swallow. And as for the Brahmans, though they have a reputation in the world, they know but little philosophy. And I do not see how it can be other than ridiculous, by reason of those seven rivers of milk, honey, and butter, which they find in the hollow of the moon, where if any such thing exists it must needs be hot. And finally I cannot believe that men without king, without beard, and without arms can know anything; whence may be inferred that they also lack shame. See what Meander says about the immodesties which he thinks they know, in those verses beginning 'Turpe est etc'. The holy men and even those who are not such, are full of this doctrine, and if we were not in the forest, I would show you the places where they learn their lessons in a manner which would probably bore you. F 52v •

Fabricio—I was in it, and the more you tell me about the little that is known in India, the more you argue against yourself.

Cardenio—If you refer to the verses, I will tell you that Poetry has the same qualities as music, which, though it can be improved by art, is however not perfected by art. To be a poet is to be in a greater or less degree of heat, so that what is natural cannot be a science. There may well be born in Candea a person with the same temperament as Vergil and Homer; nor does the difference of climate prevent one from asserting the existence of one of these prodigies, especially as that of Ceylon is temperate and almost corresponds to that of Spain. Wherefore there can be an intelligence of noble quality. That lady had nine years lessons from a learned Religious, and if Cicero in his first book of his *Orator* states that there is no intelligence so dense as not to be improved by art and discipline, what do you make of the Queen of Candea that you think she cannot write a few rhymes which, though they may have come from a miller calemonger, yet considering the one who wrote them and the place where they were written, cannot but be considered good.

Fabricio—The doubt arose from your not declaring it. Let us go on with the wanderings of the Portuguese, and let us see how the good reception of Her Highness ended.

Cardenio—Twenty of us soldiers joined his arrayal, as I told you, and it cannot be denied that we passed that night with greater ease than the five we spent in the woods. At F 53 the dawn watch we were led in to his presence, and forthwith he showed the scanty prudence with which his mother bore him into this world. For without waiting for the result of our dealings, he made us a long narration of the complaints he had against his father, on account of which he had bethought himself of passing over to the service of His Majesty, which we treated as that of a person on whom our life and liberty depended. We replied that if he wished to go to Columbo for no other reason than that by that means His Majesty might restore him to his heritage in the Kingdom of Candea, which his father took away from him, there was another and easier way for His Highness to be King before sunset. And when he asked how that could be, we gave him a paper which we had brought with us from the woods in which were the following :

That His Highness had there twenty Portuguese well armed that he should return to his father with them, pretending that we had taken him as our patron because of the falsehoods on account of which we were made to quit the city ; and that when we were in the presence of the King, it would be an easy matter to kill him or seize him, and to do the same to the six or seven supporters of the party of his brother : and that as His Highness had two thousand lascarins, the best in the whole Island, for those of the Kingdom of Huua are held as such, and two hundred and fifty Portuguese who in this case were worth a thousand, for besides that that they were veteran soldiers, among whom were the best and the most experienced Captains that there were in Ceylon at the time, he could fortify himself on the hill of Balanê ; and that after seizing the wives of the Araches and Mudiliares and gathering what F 53v provisions he could, he might write to those who were with Prince Ma Astana at Malvana the reasons he had for doing that deed, and the little reason which his father had for trying to disinherit him, and write to the Portuguese arrayal to come to join His Highness in that place, whither the Mudiliares would have to come, attracted if not by the revolution



with which all Chingalas have kinship, at least by their wives and children ; and that when the Portuguese came, peace could be made and His Highness could retain a guard of soldiers, such as he thought necessary for his security till matters were reduced to the former state.

He replied to us after reading the paper that the proposal contained certain difficulties especially that of killing his father ; that it was a thing done only by one Chingala King who for that reason was expelled from Ceylon according to the law of Buddum during his life ; that he thought it better to recover the Kingdom of Candea by means of swearing vassalage to His Majesty and putting him in possession of the city with the guard of Portuguese which we had pointed out, than at the cost of becoming a parricide, a sin which the gods did not pardon. On these last words a soldier of the company, named João Rodriguez Colasso, raised his hand and blessing him said : Blessed is the mother that bore Your Highness.' And when the Prince asked him why, he replied : ' I say so, Sire, because a heart so pure as that which rejects the possession of a kingdom in order not to seize his old father, who takes it from him in order to give to another, to whom it does not belong, | has never been, and never will be, seen. F 54 With this pious expression we withdrew, and the sanctimonious words profitted João Rodriguez not a little, for on the following day His Serenity sent him a *pinga* of peras and oranges besides those he sent to the rest of the confraternity. And when we reassembled, he told his men that he greatly rejoiced to have us in his company, for there was no denying that we were valiant soldiers bred to war, and out of such men without conscience it was astonishing that João Rodriguez, though one-eyed, should be so devout, but the reason for having that spirit must be that he could chant well, and there is no doubt that he knew singing well, for were it not for the misfortune of the eye he would have been a cherub. It is clear it must be so, for the cares of watching did not exist then.

Fabricio—Though I do not know, I have to do the same. ' you see that the sun is going to end his course. Fix a stake in the place where it is necessary, so that it may not be impossible to come across it to-morrow.

Cardenio—I had no intention of awaking from the dream which seized me there till you had paid your debts. Let us go now, and pay the debts of this night, and to-morrow we shall begin with what the antics of His Highness cost us in labours during six years of history.

*F 54v* Fabricio—I am surprised that the son of so valiant a soldier as we know | his father to be, and of a woman of so disquiet a mind as Dona Catherina is said to have been, for so long as she lived, she did nothing but plan revolts, should turn out to be so weak and so cowardly as not to bestir himself to assert his right with his father, not once, but thirty and three hundred times, when he was deliberating to deprive him of his patrimony.

Cardenio—We see that the King knew quite well whom he was depriving, and that he did not think it good to leave his kingdom in the hands of a man so devout that every day without exception he closed his eyelids for the space of six hours at least.

Fabricio—Go on, that must have been the reason.

*F 55*

## THE SECOND PAUSE

Cardenio—This river of Duravacqua<sup>1</sup> is a better situation than that of Algore<sup>2</sup> where we were yesterday. Let us stay here, for besides our return being easier from here, we shall save the hour which will have to be spent in getting sight of the other.

Fabricio—I think so also, but as the hills of Candea can be seen from those waters and as they come down from its mountains, it seems to me that to recount the stories of that Kingdom the most suitable place is under their shadow.

Cardenio—These give us excellent shade. Let us sit down, for this thought better suits the gentleness of my comrade, all the more as to-day we are going out of Candea and entering Huua, for which reason you will be better here in the direction in which that Kingdom lies.

Fabricio—To please you I will be silent. Look for the place where we fixed the stake yesterday and let us go there.

Cardenio—Antana Canda<sup>3</sup> they call the place where we slept. I think deep sleep deserves to fail the veils of the hill. The day dawned enveloped in a thick cloud, which, though quite usual in Candea, cleared up that mornin<sup>g</sup> with less modesty.

<sup>1</sup> Dorawaka, perhaps Gurugoda-oya.

<sup>2</sup> Algoda-ganga is Sitawaka-ganga.

<sup>3</sup> Hantana near Kandy.

perhaps to show us how blind we were. After the usual preparations we raised anchor, and after a few steps they gave the Prince an *olla* of the King in which he reminded him : that in his company were the principal Captains and prisoners taken | at Vellavaya, and that if he was his son, he should not F 55v hinder in that way the peace which he sought with the Portuguese, since the parents and relatives of those whom he was taking had to be the agents of the peace ; that he should return and that he would consent to any terms he desired. To which the Prince replied by word of mouth, that as the Captains were persecuted by His Highness they had recourse to him ; that it was not right to give them up to him ; that as for the rest there was no settlement possible. The messenger coming to us with this reply word for word, all with the intention of getting us back, took us, or rather we took him, to the place where we were staying ; and there he took out another *olla* of the King, and in a half-washed handkerchief his beads, in proof that if we returned with the one who delivered them to us, no harm would be done to us. There was a discussion as to what should be done with the said Lady, and all agreed that it should be taken to the Prince unopened as it was brought. This was done ; and after reading it the Prince gave it back to us, perhaps in the hope that we would not fall into the mistake of not replying to the proposal, and the reply was : That as there was more than one king in Candea we were excused for not complying with what His Highness ordered us, and that even His Highness would not have opportunity to fulfil what was promised therein : from which words one can infer what the said *olla* contained.

That night we slept five leagues away from Candea, and in two (nights, I mean) we reached Badule, the principal town of that Kingdom and at the time | the seat of the Prince. F 56 We entered it with great sorrow, at the thought that it was the cause and the first beginning of our misfortunes. There we lodged as well as the scanty accommodation permitted, as it had been recently set fire to. And being again brought into a Council, we were consulted as to the best way to make that journey ; and when some ways were suggested, he chose the worst, which was that of Batalou, to the Captain of which, (at the time Theodosio Afonso da Gama) he made us write, and he did the same to Miguel Pereira Borralho, Captain of Japhanapataõ, who sent Captain Manoel Gomes with six light vessels to meet His Highness. But before we set out, I should like to relate to you an incident which took place

in that same Kingdom of Huua at our arrival, which being a notable one, the like of which was never seen or heard in Ceylon, deserves to be recorded.

The Prince loved a woman of that Kingdom, illustrious in blood, (for she was his own first cousin) and in beauty she must have been still more illustrious, from what was reported to us about her, for though we passed by the place where she was, we could not see her. It happened that this lady during the absence of His Highness received as spouse, while that Lord was tarrying, the son of a neighbouring mayoral,<sup>1</sup> a very handsome person, and presently showed by it that he was born for heaven. The Prince heard of these temporary espousals, and as the young man was in his service in his *F 56v dispensa*, he sent him with an *olla* to call a Mudeliar who was in the Two-Corlas with some lascarins, on the pretence that they were necessary for this journey. And when the delivery of the *olla* was made, the Mudeliar read it and showed it to him saying that he must needs obey, and that he should recommend himself to Boddū. To which the young man replied 'not to Boddū, who was only the god of brutish men, but to Jesus Christ, his Creator and Saviour'; and taking out a small crucified Christ, though without the cross, he began to run to the river, and calling the Mudeliar he jumped into the water saying to the Christ which he held in his hand: 'Baptize me, since you died for me.' And while saying these words he poured some water on himself with the hand in which he held the Christ, begging the Lord to pardon him.

Fabricio—He was the first Chingalla in Ceylon to believe in the law of Christ, and as he had not the preparation which the others had, you can see what the power of predestination was. Happy death and happy the hour in which he was born. And who, did they say, was his instructor in the doctrine?

Cardenio—We tried to find out what we could, and we learnt that the young man during his life had seen Portuguese people, for though he had never been out of Huua, his father told us that he suspected that a soldier, who had taken shelter in his house after being wounded in the rout of Constantino de Saa and had died there, was the author of that work; and as we *F 57* had gone to him on purpose to ask this, and as he saw us shed so many tears and enter the house, while he did not, he was so confused that he told us that the religion of Christ

<sup>1</sup> Mayoral, headman.



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could not but be good, and that if we had power to baptize him, he would, in faith that he gave up that of Boddū, give us his idol, because he wished to go where his son was ; and after giving us reasons why he could not practise the religion of the Gospel in that place, he promised us that, after settling the affairs of his house, he would go and live in a place where he could be a Christian without opposition.

And to return to His Highness : that Lord gave out that his expedition was to besiege Batecalou, at which the lascarins laughed, as they had twice experienced and knew the effects of such a folly, if they attacked again. But he disguised his action under the guise of a contract, which, if the parties to it had not been Chingallas, could have been destroyed in a thousand ways. Finally we set out, and their Highnesses the Prince and the Princess (who was also there) embraced each other and began to sing, the one a treble, the other tenor, which it was a pleasure to hear. *Et campos ubi Troia fuit feror exul in altum* : with his hard finger on *Relinquo*, and lower down with Vergil : *Penatibus et magnis diis* ; for though His Highness went with the intention of becoming a Christian, this holy purpose did not prevent him from visiting the ruins of the temple of god Catragamma, and in the same fashion | the F 57v obsceneties of lesser note, such as the pagode of Constantino de Saa, the mosque of the Moors and other filth of the kind. And after making an end of these continuous acts of worship, His Highness mounted his horse so as to have better opportunity to leave those gracious fields with more tears. And soon we saw how little were the indications of his doing anything of use to us, for so many tears and so much passion could not end in anything less than being detected and placing us in danger of being dragged away : and if they did not do so, it was because they had not the courage, and in order that we might consider them to be people without spirit, and because God wished to save us, which is the principal reason. His Highness, to finish with this first stage, set out from the city with all the *forrolhos* [*sic*] he had, which did not suffice to prevent the Captains from offering to give him in Columbo four thousand cruzados for the furniture of his house, leaving aside what he had in that at Badule. But as he was still a pagan, he had of course to follow the character of the rest, for this Lord would rather have left a tooth behind than a cauldron, for which reason when we halted we entered his tent and told him that since he could not make up his mind to leave the cooking pots behind, he should announce that, if the fortalice were taken,

(as they held to be certain) all who survived should remain there, that thus he would give some concern to the King of Candea since his vessels were compelled not to go there unless he were restored to his inheritance ; and that if it were not taken, he should go and live at Cutiar,<sup>1</sup> since it was not good for  
 F 58 him to live in Huua | for the reasons which all know, till God should take his father. He did as we proposed, and there is no doubt, according to the opinion of one who heard him, that it would have availed him better, if he had not been so serene, for before we could make him take one step, it was necessary first to spit five or six times, so subject was he to catarrh. Finally he reached Batecalou as well as he could, in twenty-seven days and settled down in Xabandure,<sup>2</sup> the chief town of that port, where he remained twenty-two days, killing the Vaniás of Hiraúra<sup>3</sup> and Palugam,<sup>4</sup> lands appertaining to that port ; and as he was their heir (for all the kings of India are such of their vassals) in taking their pots and pans, as if those he had brought from Badule were not enough. And no remonstrance of ours could deter him from such a savage deed, though thereby he only took the little the poor fellows had, but by that occupation he lost the march to the fortalice, for his people came to hear of it, for it was a secret among fifteen or twenty, and tried to kill us as the cause of this journey of his. And as they planned, so they would have done, had not one of those chosen for the task given us warning of it, so that when they came, they found us with arms in our hands. And the result was that out of the two hundred whom they had chosen for the task of wishing us good-day at the daybreak watch, twenty-two fell dead, for we all had firearms and in them a double charge. Upon this hubub, which was great, the Prince arrived and succoured us in person and with  
 F 58v an elephant. Whereupon | those gentlemen had to abandon their purpose, for being principal men, they felt (if Chingalas ever feel) that though they had not killed a single one of us, we had dealt such havoc on their men—the truth being that of the twenty of us, nine were wounded though slightly, and I received the lance-wound which you see on my wrist—on which account they became so angry, that pitching their camp less than half a league from where we were, they sent to tell the Prince : That they did not rise against His Highness, but only wanted to kill the Portuguese because they thought it behoved their honour ; that he should be pleased to turn

<sup>1</sup> Kotiar.<sup>2</sup> Samanturai.<sup>3</sup> Eraur ? Q. 738.<sup>4</sup> Palugama.

them out, because if he did not do so they would kill them in his presence, for thereby they would be doing a great service to the King of Candea, and that they would even seize him as that would be a lesser evil than that a prince of the Surivança,<sup>1</sup> which as you know means descendant of the sun, should become a Christian.

Upon this embassy the Prince shut himself up with those of his household, the majority of whom were former rebels of the lowlands, and for that reason, our mortal enemies. And it was settled in this consultation that we should be sent to Vilasem and should surrender our arms, because, when those of the army saw us with arms, they would kill us.

My companions elected me to go to speak to this man about the order which was signified to us in his name. And either because he was sleeping or engaged in some other occupation, | I could not have speech with him, and returned to the place where my companions awaited me. And together we retired to a tower made only of wood, whence we sent to tell the Prince: That the arms which he demanded of us we would not surrender, because we also serve the King of Candea: still less would we go to Vilaçem, for His Highness well knew that we should not have more hours of life than those which would be spent in passing by the place where the rebels were: that as we were the principal persons in that Kingdom, by our death would be lost the opportunity for peace: that, moreover, it was on account of our trust in the words which the Queen, his sister,<sup>2</sup> gave us in his name, that we had joined the army of His Highness, for otherwise the woods were ours and we pretty well accustomed to them: that he should consider carefully how ill his father would take it, if we were killed by his treachery, for we had no help but to think so, when on the advice of men who did not like that there should be peace in Candea, he asked us for our arms without which our heads would be cut off. F 59

The poor man who had little spirit and was irresolute received our embassy and at once replied to us with thirty apologies that it was not his intention to kill us nor to consent to our being killed, and at the end of the replies | and questions and answers, he sent to say that at the third watch he would give us four lascarins of his guard (the whole of which remained) who would take us to Vilaçem by a secret path while he settled with his men, and with a thousand excuses and an *ola* sworn F 59c

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *Suriaransa*, the solar race.

<sup>2</sup> Rather half-sister, cf. *ante* p. 54, n. 1.



upon the head of his sister, that there was no deceit on his part in sending us away. We then came down the ladder of the aforesaid tower without further ado than an act of contrition and an image, about one palm high, of St. Anthony whom we begged to deliver us. And we took the secret path and this was done by the Saint who is wont to succour his clients in such cases with the same kindness, so little deserved by us, with which in India, much more than in Portugal, (for there he has much to keep him busy) he helps whenever we are devout, whereby the circumstances of the miracle which the Saint showed became greater, when those who were succoured are considered. Thus it happened that as soon as we sallied out of Xabandure, there fell a shower so heavy that it did not give the lascarins time to stir ; and as the rain did not stop that night nor the whole of the next day, and we did not slacken our pace, in spite of our guide, we put ourselves on the other side of the river, so furious and broad and flooded by the rains of these twenty-four hours, that only men to whom it was a matter of life and death to cross it would do so.

F 60 But | when this danger was over, we should have fallen into another of almost the same intensity, had not the Saint taken that journey under his protection ; for we came upon a band of almost three hundred Bedas,<sup>1</sup> men who live in the forests without God or King or any kind of clothing or sustenance except what they kill in the chase which they eat without any addition save the honey in which they leave it to rot. These, after a long conversation which they had among themselves, of which we understood little, for they speak as they live, took our arms, which on this occasion did not avail us, because the rain and the river had drenched our powder. And they despoiled us in such sort that we were like these trees, and had we been two, we might have thought we were in the Terrestrial Paradise. Besides this, after taking from us the few escudos which the Queen had given us on our departure from Candea, they went away leaving us in the middle of that desert, without any other guide save that of the good Mathematics of those of us who had passed through those parts, but that journey having been on horseback had not given us opportunity to notice the road, which we now finished in twenty days, living on herbs and other wild fruits which those forests produce, such as lemons and oranges, which though green and sour I do not think we spared, at least as many as there were.

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<sup>1</sup> Veddas.

Fabricio—The feat of mounting that tower could not be denied to be valorous, but before entering Vilaçem, for I think you are near, name me those who were making the journey.

Cardenio—They were the following : Captain Francisco de Quintal Pereira, Captain Simaõ Vieira de Valladares, Captain Manoel Pestana, Captain Antonio | de Lima, Captain Calixto *F 60v* Machado de Gouvea, Salvador Rebelo, Pero Ferreira, Andre Pinto, Matheus de Abreu, Joaõ Rodriguez Colasso, Afonso de Barreiras, Manoel de Almeida, Joaõ Rebello, Nuno Alvares, Joaõ Perreira, Gaspar da Costa, Phellipe de Britto, Matheus Cabral, Antonio Mendes and Joseph Mendes.

Fabricio—The majority of them are Colombo-born.

Cardenio—And all valiant soldiers.

Fabricio—And well they showed it, being men bred to study and to arms.

Cardenio—We all reached Vilaçem in the aforesaid twenty-two days. There a Captain to whom the Prince had entrusted the government of those lands, which are dull by nature and rugged by position, being the place of exile of those banished from Candea, whence it is fifteen leagues, gave us each half a cubit of cloth with which we remedied our troubles, which increased visibly, for we all fell ill owing to the scanty apparel we had to protect us from the cold, which is there insupportable almost all the year round. Three of our comrades died, and the rest of us were on the point of keeping them company, the hopeless business costing us three and a half months. At the end of this period, the Queen, who was the dove of our deluge and the sun of our storms, sent to know whether we were still alive, because it had been said in Candea that the rebels had killed us. And that was the first happy day amidst the many sad ones we spent there. Finally | a short time afterwards *F 61* Her Highness supplied our wants with the charity of a Christian—which she must have inherited from her parents, since though a pagan, she was of the best blood, unlike people endowed merely with money—with a liberality that extended to all and that purely out of charity. And she wrote to her brother (who was at a distance of eighteen leagues and had passed through the same fate minus the cold) that she was surprised that through lack of valour and want of administration he was so silly as to expose to the danger of death men whom she had entrusted to him and who had trusted him on her word; that as he had not known how to carry out the business for which he had gone to Batecalou, she reminded him that he had with him the principal persons taken at Velavaya and

that it was through them that peace had to be made, and she ordered him to remove them from Vilaçem. To add to this *ola*, the King visited the son and consoled him for his catarrh. From which visit resulted the decision to send us to Badule till the conclusion of the peace. As it was decided, so it was done. And we remained a year in misery in that city, which was so bitter to us both because of the remembrance of the defeat we received and because our neighbours were the very people who wanted to kill us at Batecalou.

This fate which was terrible began to improve on the arrival of the ambassador, Hieronimo Taveira, who brought orders from the Captain-General on the entreaties of our relatives not to treat of peace till the King removed us from Badule. The ambassador did as he was ordered, and the King as he  
*F 61* was asked, so that | leaving our exile, we came to Candea. One can easily imagine the joy with which we returned, and as the majority were young men, they returned to the arms of their former follies, I fear with greater force. And so long as the ambassador secured the field, they became disorderly in such fashion that the King, tired of them and disappointed, gave some of them permission to go to Columbo, and others took it of their own accord.

Fabricio—Let us come to the results of the work of Hieronimo Taveira.

Cardenio—Hieronimo Taveira did what he was ordered to do and failed in no part of his duty. And that you may know that such was the case, listen to what happened. The Conde de Linhares wrote to Dom Jorge de Almeida, of whom the one was Viceroy and the other General of Ceylon, that the peace which Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira had made with the King was infamous, and that His Honour should not on any account swear to one with so little feudal dues, holding that two elephants were not enough, as if there were greater credit in two hundred than in two. Dom Jorge sent the ambassador with the proposals of this letter in August, with orders to keep him in play till October, while he communicated with the Count by land; that on his decision he would inform him further. Hieronimo Taveira did as he was ordered, and when  
*F 62* the pinnaces of India arrived, the Count ordered that peace | should be made as formerly. And when Dom Jorge informed Hieronimo Taveira and Hieronimo Taveira informed the King, the latter replied: ‘Sir Ambassador. The peace which the Conde de Linhares calls infamous was made under quite different circumstances, for then I wished to bring up my sons without the topsyturviness of dragging them to the woods. Now they are men and all three soldiers, who know how to

sleep leaning on a lance. If, when Your Honour came, you had been willing to make peace as I proposed to Your Honour, the Portuguese would now be in their lands, Your Honour and this house content. But taking better counsel, I do not care to go about the forests hunting elephants for the King of Portugal. Good-by to you, Sir. I will send my ambassadors to India, and if his Lordship is not pleased to dispense us from the tribute, the forests of Candea are wide.'

The ambassadors<sup>1</sup> went and the said Lord made them concede at least one elephant. And what they had obliged themselves to pay, they afterwards said they did by force.<sup>2</sup> And though this reason is that of a Chingala, they gave it on account of the threats with which His Excellency treated

<sup>1</sup> His ambassadors were 'Jassundra Mudiliar of my Council, Disava of Udunuwara and Curuppu Rala.' Two Portuguese prisoners, Domingos Carvalho Caô and Miguel da Fonceca, went as the King's procurators. Dom Diogo was the interpreter of the ambassadors.

The King's credential letter dated December 5, 1632, and memorial, are given by Biker *Tratados* II., 39-50. I have in my possession photographic copies of the original letters.

<sup>2</sup> Though the King had refused to pay any tribute, the Viceroy insisted on one elephant at least; which the ambassadors granted. But as this was contrary to the King's express wish, the Viceroy asked the ambassadors what authority they had to accept the condition. Thereupon 'the said ambassadors presented a blank sheet of paper with the King's signature on it and sealed with red sealing wax.' (Livro de pazes fol. 99.)

The terms of the oath of peace: 'At Goa on the 15th day of the month of April, in the palace of the excellent Lord, the Count of Linhares, Viceroy and Captain-General of India, in the presence of Jasundra Modeliar of the Council of the King of Candea and Dissava of Uranora and Coruparrala, ambassadors of Maastana King of Candea and the interpreter of the ambassadors, of Dom Diogo and the secretary of State, Ambrosio de Freitas de Camara, and the other fidalgos and persons named in the foregoing agreement of peace, the said Lord the Count Viceroy sent for a Missal and placing his right hand thereon swore in the presence of the said ambassadors to observe and fulfil all the conditions of the said contract as set forth therein, and promised that all Viceroys and Governors that succeed him would do the same. Thereupon the said ambassadors also swore by God Almighty, by their pagodes, and by the said King Maastana, saying in the name of the said King that he and his successors would fulfil the said contract of peace and friendship in all the capitulations thereof without controversy. Of which this record was made in which the said Lord, Count Viceroy signed along with the said ambassadors and witnesses who were present at the ceremony.

I, the Secretary, Ambrosio de Freitas de Camara, wrote this—

The Conde de Linhares  
signature of Jassundra Mudiliar  
do. of Corupurrala

Dom Francisco de Moura  
Lourenço de Mello d'Eca  
Goncalo Pinto da Fonceca'



them, and the metamorphoses with which Ambrosio de Freitas defied them gave occasion to it. And before we were told how the King of Candea took the result of this peace, I heard what happened in the palace when there was sworn the truce which was made till peace was arranged at Goa, for it was an augury of future events, and it was an event which well proved the little calm with which the soldiers  
*F 62v* behaved in this | captivity, and therefore you should know it.

The King asked the Captains that they should honour the day this Oath was taken, by their presence without the mourning with which they were going about up till then ; that he would consider it a happy sign and would esteem it very much if they did him that courtesy. The sforesaid, as if they did not desire anything better, sent messages to Columbo and obtained either by themselves or by means of their friends, the worst supply of follies they could. And it happened that when that tiresome swearing took place, the Captains and the Ambassador entered the palace with every possible extravagance in dress. Captain Simaõ Vieira and the Ensign Thome Gomes remained behind on purpose and did not want to go in, where the others already were with the King. And as they were walking about in a courtyard which was formed inside by the gates (of the palace<sup>1</sup>) enclosure, the rebels who were all there, sent them word to say that it was not polite of them to walk in that place when they were there. To which the Captains replied by bending down for a little elephant dung that was there near them, and throwing some lumps on the face of the bearer of that message, who received it with the greatest calmness, though like a lascarin. And after this  
*F 63* deed, with drawn | swords they made at them, using the worst words that occurred to them at the time. There was there Dom Aleixo, who thought himself a soldier, and was so in truth. And as it did not appear to him that this should be put up with, he seized a lance, whereupon the Captains finished by laying about them. And when the parties approached each other, the guard of the King came between them, and the King himself came out. The Ambassador and the Captains, as also the most part of those who were within, seized their weapons seeing what the matter was, and without minding the King, they dragged him also into it. And one of them approaching Dom Cosme gave him a sword thrust, and if it had been a little deeper, it would have put an end to the grief which he felt at the conclusion of the peace. And [the conclusion] of this battle was, that as some of the principal Columbo-born men had been invited, there were seen

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<sup>1</sup> These words are on the margin.

unsheathed on that day thirty seven swords, besides that of the King and of the Ambassador ; on account of which the rebels and those about to rebel made for the gates, though it is true that this exodus was partly due to respect, because the King had none for anyone who was not a Portuguese, and therefore there was in the courtyard no Chingala other than the King ; who, being disgusted by this impertinence, was content when the Portuguese threw their swords at his feet though afterwards it was known that he felt the flight of his people and the sword cut of Dom Cosme ; for as that nation is superstitious above all others of India, | they con- F 63vcluded from this incident the ill-success of the peace which the devil prompted them to prophesy. For when the Ambassadors returned from Goa and presented to the King the terms of the peace, and when he saw among them the one concerning Batecalou, stating that the Portuguese should be masters of so many geometric paces around the fortalice,<sup>1</sup> he called a page and ordered the papers to be hung on the pinnacle of the pagode saying : ‘ Tie it up well and it will show us the better that it is like the wind.’ And he replied to Dom Jorge that he did not want geometry with the King of Portugal, for it was quite clear that had Hieronimo Taveira not had the order which he had, he would have made the peace within six days of his arrival, because the King desired peace. But when he saw how small was the reinforcement which arrived in that monsoon, and how little the state of India was able to succour Ceylon, he as a good general, made mockery of it, taking his stand on the geometry of Ambrosio de Freitas.

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<sup>1</sup> The seventh article was : ‘ That as the lands of Baticcalou and its fortalice belong to His Majesty [the King of Portugal], but as the Lord Viceroy wishes to do honour and favour to these Kings in the name of His Majesty, he concedes that the lands of Baticcalou shall go to the said King of Candea but on the understanding that there shall be left [to the King of Portugal] the fortalice of Baticcalou with two thousand geometric paces around it, or if it be less as far as our artillery can reach, which shall be measured by the person appointed by the Captain-General of that island and boundary marks shall be placed : and that the revenues of the custom-house of that fort shall be in part for the King of Candea and in part for His Majesty, and in order that there be no doubt or difficulty in the recovery of them, a Receiver of the King of Candea shall reside in the said custom-house along with the officials of His Majesty, so that each may have what falls to him and that in this way may be prevented the import of contraband. And the Captain of that fortalice shall have orders to issue all safe conducts to the King of Candea and his lieges so that their vessels may sail and trade. And in the said safe conducts it shall be stated with what goods the vessels are laden and who are the persons therein and a declaration that there are no forbidden goods in them, such as arms and all manner of appliances therefor, for in such case the vessels shall be seized with their cargo.’

Fabricao—The absurdity of the condition cannot be denied by one who has whiskers, if one takes into consideration that the King of Candea was a barbarian and could never understand that a geometric pace consisted of ten palms and not of two hundred, let alone that it was an obvious piece of ignorance, for the fortalice is situated on one of two islands which that river forms at the mouth of its bar, which will be  
*F 64* two miles round, and as it lies with two stretches of wall in the same river, there was plenty of land over and above the three hundred paces which this clause contained. And it will always be against us, because of two inner passages by which this island is a close neighbour to the Macuas, a race brave and treacherous by nature.

Fabricao<sup>1</sup>—After the King refused to stand by what his ambassador swore to, what happened? How did the war begin?

Cardenio—It is necessary to turn back to the beginning of the story, for then you will know how valiantly those of our arrayal acted and how ill those of Candea.

On the death of Constantino de Saa there succeeded to the government of this Island Lansarote de Seixas, whom the defunct General had named in his place, lest the *ouvidor* should seize him for slaying João de Ciqueira de Albuquerque, whom the said Lansarote de Seixas had killed ten days before our departure. And it cannot be denied that under his care Columbo was more secure than under Dom Diogo Botto Machado, who was then Captain of Columbo and to whom the post belonged by every right, because there was a great difference between the valour of the two men, let alone that Lansarote de Seixas was more respected and more manly, and as such defended the city in the circumstances I am speaking of, when the King besieged it, personally attending with spirit and honour to every work.

*F 64v* Lansarote de Seixas was succeeded by Dom Phelipe Mascarenhas,<sup>2</sup> who came to this Island during the government of the former and whom the Conde de Linhares named in his place.

The arrival of this fidalgo in Columbo was its salvation, for he came from Cochin with a pinnace full of very good troops whom he paid out of his own money, and he had charged the ship with provisions which he distributed with a liberal hand mostly to the poor. And the reason why for a whole year he did not march against the enemy, was because there

<sup>1</sup> The Ms. repeats the name, probably by error.

<sup>2</sup> Captain-General, 1630-1631.

were lacking arms, munitions, money, and men ; because what garrison there was, not only was small, but was not exercised in the warfare of Ceylon, which is more concerned with feet than with arms, and it was of no little importance to make preparation so as not to risk a disaster, the price of which would be Columbo. However Dom Phelippe overcame these difficulties with valorous spirit and mustered in the course of the afore-mentioned period a force enough to effect this result, if the rains had not prevented it. For he remained twenty-two days with his arrayal drawn up in the passes of Columbo, without the rain ceasing at all during that time, in the midst of which he handed over the government ; and I think that by this action he rendered His Majesty the great service of securing the Island, the affairs of which seem hard to bring home to anyone not a Christian and honourable at heart.

He did not fail (however) to render great services to His Majesty, as for instance the discovery of the rebellion of Vicente da Silva, a native Captain, so valiant | and so faithful F 65 that up to that unfortunate time of madness he was one of those taken in our company in the rearguard with five wounds on that unhappy day, and was the first Chingala to come to knock at the gates of Columbo, wounded as he was. And his revolt would not have been of so much account, had he not raised all the lascarins of our arrayal, who were about a thousand, whereby the conquest was delayed for a long time, the casados starving and wasting away because they are sustained by their villages, and His Majesty losing a large sum of money, and what mattered much, cinnamon.

Fabricio—I do not understand how Dom Philipe was able to discover this rising.

Cardenio—He discovered it because he had among our lascarins good spies, to whom he gave much money, and giving has such virtue.

Fabricio—But it was Ecannaca<sup>1</sup> Mudeliar, who, they say, revealed this plot.

Cardenio—He was the chief, and as he aspired to be Adigar of Mature, as he became, it was thought expedient to communicate the plot to him : of which he at once gave notice to the General, and the General in reply gave him a collar worth a thousand cruzados and the post he wanted.

He delivered many other attacks on the enemy, carried out by Francisco de Britto de Almeida, then serving as Captain-Major of the Field, as for instance the attack at Panature, in which many heads were cut off, some of them of importance ;

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<sup>1</sup> Ekanayaka.



and others, in which warfare Francisco de Britto gave fresh proof of his valour, for when Constantino de Saa had left him  
*F 65v* with thirty casados of | Columbo in Malvana, without any other provisions than those that went to it daily from the city, he did not want to retire save on the second order of Lansarote de Seixas, for in the first he did not express himself clearly. And to finish with the government of this gentleman, the sins of Columbo caused the Conde de Linhares to be dissatisfied [and think] that his departure would be better for the said Columbo than his presence, for which reason it behoved that he should go and all the demons come in his place, so that the pride of the King of Candea should take the peace sanctioned by the Viceroy of India and order it to be hung on the pinnacle of the pagode to the no small discredit of the Portuguese name, which would not have happened had Dom Phelippe not given up the government. He was succeeded by Dom Jorge de Almeida.

Fabricio—Hold on! So Dom Jorge is all the devils that succeeded to the government of this Island.

Cardenio—I do not say so. For after all he was my General and he is dead, and even if in his character one might see all the power of hell, I should forgive him as well as I can, both because we owe respect to the dead, as well as because he had respect for me. For when I sent to ask him for permission to escape from Mathale, giving some feigned reason for it, about the evil which the King did to me (a thing which could not be done, because Hieronimo Taveira had given a paper to the  
*F 66* King in the name of His Majesty | that, as His Highness kept the prisoners without chains, any one who escaped would be delivered up), and I meditated escaping some reverse which I was fearing at the time, he wrote to me to do so with all security that I thought fit for putting myself in safety. He gave me leave to bring about thirty soldiers; and though that was more liberal than just, it was friendship, and these reasons are enough to make one overlook any fault he may have committed like a newcomer to India. And as for the devils, I say so because he filled the posts of this Island with old clouts, and the people that could have been promoted he seized and vexed, by whose advice I do not know, probably carried away by persons without name or quality, who dragged him to such a pass that the casados of Columbo lost their regard for him and buffeted him and killed his servants. And they gave him also thirty espinguard wounds, the result of which was that he lost the little finger of his left hand. All this was the consequence of a somewhat imperious character to which was added the evil ways of his familiars and the

scant experience he had in dealing with soldiers, for all these, though casados, were soldiers, for which reason the King of Candea came to make little account of his government. And as the King saw that he did not take the field, though he had a force of more than a thousand Portuguese and a thousand and two hundred Caffirs and Canarese and a thousand Chingallas, he tried to defend the country, and as the indisposition to which | he was subject did not allow him to *F 66* take part personally in this defence, he sent therefore his son, the Prince Ma Hastana, who with ten thousand men completely violated the order given him by the King ; and so it happened that His Highness had to be without what he had won by such wicked stratagems, while His Majesty had the country which was his by so many claims.

Finally Dom Jorge set out with the force mentioned, and encountering the Prince at Malvana, they exchanged a few ill-directed buffets ; and even in these we lost about half a quartilho of blood and he of Candea about twenty heads. Though it is true that if His Highness had not been in such a hurry, he would have lost two thousand, though the fault of losing so few was the people's and not of the said Lord. And with the aforesaid caution, both the one and the other remained preparing ladders to assault the next day the post of Cardevola, on which the first to mount was Captain Francisco de Seixas Cabreira when those who saw well noticed that some were throwing themselves from the walls and others were scaling them, without any further opposition than the first volley by which they killed only Bento de Cunha, a valiant and honourable Captain who had charge of | that wretched *F 67* detachment, and if what we have experienced is true, that no man in India who behaved as he ought or acted like a good man was free from dishonour and misery, while on the contrary if he were a worthless drunkard or a villain he had luck to spare— But let us go on with the valour of the Portuguese : After this victory, they fell with such fury on the Grand Stockade (and you already know how far it was from the surrendered post) that its defenders thought it best to abandon it with the greatest courtesy. And I do not know what reason the enemies of Dom Jorge had to vex him with satires about the management of this exploit, for on account of the readiness with which those of Candea abandoned their posts, there is nothing to show good or bad management.

Fabricio—That gentleman had notable persons disaffected to him, the reason for which was the way in which he acted. And so I am not surprised that in revenge for their grievances they deprived him of testimonials to his honour, for such was the greatest satisfaction to the timid, and as there were in

Ceylon so many who were wont to repair their mistakes in this way. I am not surprised that there should have been published booklets as infamous and as idiotic as the author.

Cardenio—That was the reason and not the events of this war, in which after the attacks mentioned it appeared good to the Council, for some reason of their own, that the General should return to Columbo and that the arrayal should occupy itself in recovering the lost territory. However, Dom Jorge considered that decision useless, and remained in the Grand Stockade. And Ma Hastana, after reinforcing himself and being joined by the Prince of Matale, who had with him two thousand men, tried conclusions a second time at the river of Lauha<sup>1</sup> two leagues from the place where we now are. And as nothing worthy of record occurred there on account of a shower, at another place lower down called Mathiagamma<sup>2</sup> the Princes, disappointed with the little they had so far done, attacked us with valour, but without avail, because, though at the beginning they almost defeated us, they were finally driven in such a manner that my master chose a bush as a shade against the heat which he must have felt, and the army, broken, and with one Prince less, returned to Candea, though His Highness afterwards reappeared.

F 63 Our arrayal also retired to Vaddarua, | a village of Father Domingos Negreiros, four leagues from the place we are treating of, to reduce the country to obedience. But as the Princes were preparing to return, the people gave their obedience but coldly, for not one of them lived in his own house, but was awaiting future events, for which act, which promised them marvels the Prince of Huua and the rebel Dom Theodosio and the men of Mature united at the place where we were yesterday, and the two Princes of Mathale and Candea joined them. But as all the brothers were not pleased with the rough ways of this rebel, because of the many grievances he had, they waited till [they came] to that place (which was his own) to tell him to give it up. Whereupon he left them and came over to us with the lascarins of the whole disava, which at the time were four or five thousand. It is true indeed that he did this through necessity, because the Prince of Huua followed him close and besieged him at Calature,<sup>3</sup> and he obeyed with the intention of revolting, as he afterwards did, but being seized and his guilt proved, he was quartered.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alauwa. The river of Alauwa is Maha-oya.

<sup>2</sup> Metiyagane, not far from Narammala, in the Dambadeni Hatpat-tuwa.

<sup>3</sup> Kulutara.

<sup>4</sup> See Q. 795.



The arrayal, seeing the two Princes alone, went in pursuit of them, and they also went, one to the city of Candea and the other to that of Matala, whereupon the country gave full obedience to His Majesty. And the King of Candea sent ambassadors to ask for peace and in reply they sent Hieronimo Taveira, who replied to the King, and the King to him as I said.

Fabricio—And where were you in the famous skirmish of Chilaõ where were burnt | three hundred sampans containing F 65r ten thousand annamams of areca and as many quintals of cinnamon, exclusive of the rolls of cloth which must have been many, since all these vessels were laden with them and they were the goods for which these articles were exchanged?

Cardenio—I was of the opinion of the Councillors of Dom Jorge, because for the conquest of the country, where there was exchange only of bullets and where his presence was of such effect, they advised him to go to Columbo; and to this place where there was cloth to loot and sampans to burn, they ordered the troops to proceed by sea in search of them, lest some crabs bite by land. And as the General was a newcomer in Ceylon, it appeared to him that it was right to follow the advice given to him. And it cannot be denied that in spite of those who accused him of being mean, he acted with notable liberality with regard to the profits of this war, for he ordered a cloak to be given to Cerpe and another to Drago, and gave some positions of command to the Giants, though it is true that the city paid the cost of the job and supplied a petticoat to the giantess who, owing to some inadvertance, was without it. And now comes the answer to your question, and the reply which the King gave to the geometry of His Excellency.

The Prince of Huua started in pursuit of Dom Theodosio, and when he saw that this rebel came over to our obedience from Calaturê, he contented himself with taking his property, since he could not take his head. And thus he went in pursuit | towards the Two-Corlas, where he took from him four or five F 69 thousand fine rolls of cloth,<sup>1</sup> two thousand headcloths, a set of silver plate,<sup>2</sup> two hundred bulls laden with saltpetre and some other things more trifling in rize, altogether worth from twenty-five to thirty thousand xerafins. And with the glory of this triumph he ascended the hills and entered Badulo with the same, which it was a joy to see, because when the people of the city heard of the aforesaid acquisitions, there was not an old mortar that was not dragged to meet him. We awaited

<sup>1</sup> Beatilhas.

<sup>2</sup> Baixolla de prato.



them (though without mortars) and did the same, and as His Highness came after a valiant breakfast, he did not cease recounting to us letter by letter the chapters of that capture, and finally retired to sleep when it was three o'clock, having spent five [hours] in that narration, which confirmed the reputation we formed about him at the beginning of our arrival.

It was at this time that the ambassador entered Candea, and the King sent his ambassadors to Goa. And as the issue was not equal to the expectation, he wrote to his son that Dom Theodosio through ambition and because of the clouts he had taken, had changed the wives and children of the lascarins that were of the greatest account to the interests of that Kingdom and the quietude of his house; that he should come down on the lands of Mature and do nothing else but  
*F 69* plunder this people: | and as he joined us, he ordered the Princes of Matale and Candea to make a diversion in the Four and Seven-Corlas, one by erecting a stockade on the hill of Muratena and the other by fortifying himself at Attapeti. This made it necessary for the General to order the companies of Mature and Sofragaõ to come to the arrayal, so that with the aforesaid concentration the Prince of Huua had opportunity to devastate the territory of Mature, and his brothers (after we had cut off a large number of heads) gave us opportunity  
 • to turn upon the said Lord. And though he fled from us, we overtook him and delivered a charge in which he lost three hundred heads and three elephants, though we did not take from him more than one, and we wrested from his hands a good haul of earthen vessels of arrack<sup>1</sup> with which (in place of what his father had recommended to him) he was going to keep May in his Ponçil<sup>2</sup> of Candevatta,<sup>3</sup> which is a garden which he considers an excellent one, and which must be so, though it does not seem so to me, perhaps because of the place in which he was or because of the eyes with which he looked at it.

In these days, which was the twenty-fifth of November, 1633, Dom Jorge was succeeded by Diogo de Mello de Castro<sup>4</sup> whom the Conde de Linhares summoned from San Thome, where he was Captain-General. Soon after his landing, after ten days' stay in Columbo, he went to the arrayal and prepared to march against the King, who had come down  
*F 70* with thirty thousand | men, and had made a wooden fortalice

<sup>1</sup> Hurraca. This word is the Ar. 'arak', properly 'perspiration' and then, first the exudation or sap drawn from the date palm; secondly any strong drink, distilled spirit essence, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Pansala?

<sup>3</sup> Kandewatta.

<sup>4</sup> Captain-General. first time, 1633-1635.

in the place of Ganietena<sup>1</sup> surrounded by a ditch, <sup>sev</sup>ent<sup>y</sup> feet broad and as many deep, the bottom of which was furnished with caltrops made of bamboo spike and scorched <sup>n<sup>1</sup></sup>ba<sup>o</sup><sup>2</sup> w<sup>o</sup>d, all of which made it so strong that it could not be taken by assault. And as it seemed rash, Diogo de Mello pretended that he wished to assault it; for which purpose he ordered ladders to be made and ordered the Caffirs and the Portuguese to scale therewith some walls which the Chingalas had left us in that fortified post of Manicavare. And the King, being informed of it, was not satisfied and understood, like the Captain he was, that the General did not mean by those rehearsals to seek him out with the skill which could be gained by such practice; and when his people asked him for rewards for bringing the news of this preparation which the General was making, understanding that with it all we were not coming out, he replied: 'Do not think that Diogo de Mello is seeking me in the strong lodgings in which I am; he only wants that, if I do not wish Candea to be burnt, I should give up the advantage of this hill and seek him on the open field or climb the hills, whether to prevent the burning or not'; and that was the very thing that was decided in our council! For which reason (and also because he was an old man, full of infirmities, and was anxious to die at home), profiting by a convoy of six hundred bulls, which the General set free on his arrival (and Dom Jorge had taken when they were coming, trusting to the word of the truce at the time when the ambassadors were at Goa), he wrote to him thanking him for the courtesy and saying that as for the peace that was settled with the Conde de Linhares, it was done without his order, for though he ordered that they should not consent to any tribute, they had agreed to that of one elephant through fear, and that if he consented to forego that payment, <sup>87</sup> he would deliver the prisoners and live in all friendship. To which the General replied that, if his ambassadors had consented to a thing against his orders, he should have their heads cut off and fulfil his obligations as a King who did not wish to be judged as not being a man of his word, like the other Kings of India; that as for foregoing the obligation of the elephant, it was no small honour to the woods of Candea to supply one to His Majesty, and that it was a matter in which His Highness should not fail; that he should think well over it, and above all that ten days from the present they should meet at the river of Attapeti where would be settled what seemed best.

<sup>1</sup> Ganietenna.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. H. W. Codrington suggests *nipa*, Kitul.

Upon this reply, the King decided to make peace and we to seek him out. We set to work on the appointed day, with an army of five thousand lascarins, four hundred Portuguese—I do not know where they came from, for it was now two years that the Island was without a reinforcement, but the arrival of Diogo de Mello was so well received that men were raised up even from stones.

This army was arranged in three divisions, by which device the enemy was deceived and made to believe that there were more than fifteen hundred Portuguese, as he afterwards said ; for the three divisions set out on three different days and encamped on three different places. Damiaõ Botado set out with the men of the disava of the Seven Corlas of which he  
*F 71* was Captain and four companies | for the hill of Muratena, which was behind us, occupied by three thousand men. This was the most gallant body of soldiers that was ever mustered in Ceylon for many years, for there were in it seventeen Captains, mostly relatives and friends of Damiaõ Botado, who wished to honour him on this occasion, all of them veteran soldiers bred in Ceylon, as well as those who had escaped from Candea, who at the time had the first place as being well experienced ; and there was no one who did not join the others out of courtesy. When they arrived at Muratena, the enemy discovered us and we diverted ourselves by burning the wood of the stockade without reading the order which the King sent to the Captains of that Company which, it seems, their hurry did not give them time to read.

The other division, which set out a day after us, consisted of the Disavas of the Four Corlas and of Mature with four other companies. And the last consisted of the Captain-General with the lascarins of Sofragaõ and of his guard, and the rest of the Portuguese, Caffirs, and Canarese. And all on separate days came together at the river of Attapêti, which separated us from the enemy by not more than a musket shot. And as according to plan and in order to appear more than we were, we settled down in separate places, [a proceeding] in which there could not be any danger, because of the river which kept peace between us and the King, we succeeded in seeming to be many. And as we knew that we should not have to fight with His Highness in the strong place in which he was, and that in that multitude there were not more than fourteen thousand men, ten thousand from Candea and four thousand from Matale and Huva (for the others were natives,  
*F 71* unaccustomed to arms and brought to | increase the number), we were not at all uneasy, but rather gave them a salute with bagpipes and kettledrums as each division arrived, for we all had them. Thus we stirred in them the desire to be friends



with such joyous folk, for which purpose the King sent his Treasurer<sup>1</sup> and Chamberlain, and they made peace to the credit of that army and honour to Diogo de Mello, who retired with two hundred Portuguese more than he brought, after causing the fortalice which had cost them so much to be burnt, and many Corlas, of which he was master, to be recovered, in which were many villages, all subject to the vassalage of His Majesty, the said Lord losing their revenues, though the King was so proud before the arrival of the General that he made a weather cock of the peace which the Viceroy of India made with him requiring the geometrical paces of Ambrosio de Freitas. And Diogo de Mello made a much more advantageous peace than that attempted by the King's ambassadors with the Conde de Linhares, as appears from the fresh conditions which I have in my keeping.

When the peace was sworn, unbounded was the joy of both armies : in that of the King because of the affliction in which the poor Chingallas were for four years, without laying down the lance from their hands, and without any other success save that of Velavaya, a matter in which both the desire of fighting as well as spirits were lost ; and in ours because of the release we gave to our fellow prisoners, so that amidst such rejoicings it was only the patricians of Candea who were sad and disconsolate, because there ended for them the crop of gallantries | which remained to them as a memorial of the place F 72  
*Ubi Troia fuit*. But as the event was so adverse to that honourable and ardent hope, they retired leaving those mountains with the worst face they could : and since the sun has done the same and is perhaps sleeping in the other world at this time or is deliberating on some phrase to wish good day to-morrow to that lady who preferred to be an index to taverns than to be the wife of such a great poet, let us also take, if not the same way, at least that to our homes ; for if you please, there will not be wanting a time when you and these banks will murmur stories of that Kingdom when *luditur in castris, oçia miles agit*, when after piecing together the ruins of the past wars, you will find much to laugh at, and among them the best materials for that same laughter will be the exploits of Captain Quintal.

Fabricio—Hold on. I advise you not to adopt the ways of the publican or of our first parents, by excusing your sins by those of others, for those you committed were not such as to deceive a one-eyed man.

Cardenio—There is little reason for that malicious remark. Go home, for I do not despair of having time enough to undeceive you.

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<sup>1</sup> Vedor.



Fabricio—I should like to see you then.

Cardenio—And I, you.

[So ends the manuscript. Then there follows in different ink and in very small letters, different from those of the codex, the following eight lines, four on this page and the four others on the reverse :—]<sup>1</sup>

The halfbreeds of India know so little [spe]lling as may be seen from the mistakes in [th]is document. If at first sight I did not succeed in copying this, in the second the mistakes | will be corrected. The impediment of my hand is the reason why everything is not | in the same handwriting, for it causes me such | pain that I can scarcely write six lines.

Codex 51-IV.-32 of the Library da Ajuda.

Copied by Jordaõ de Freitas.

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<sup>1</sup> Note of copyist.

An Account of the Siege laid  
to Colombo by the King  
of Kandy

By AFFONSO DIAS da LOMBA

**F 1** | TRANSCRIPT<sup>1</sup> [OF AN ACCOUNT] OF AN INCIDENT AND THE  
 END THAT THERE WAS OF THE CONQUEST<sup>2</sup> OF CEILLAÕ,  
 CONQUERED BY THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL DOM JERONIMO DE  
 AZEVEDO<sup>3</sup> IN [THE COURSE OF THE] THIRTY-FOUR<sup>4</sup> YEARS  
 THAT WERE SPENT THEREIN BY HIM AND BY THE CAPTAINS-  
 GENERAL WHO SUCCEEDED HIM,<sup>5</sup> AND LOST IN ONE MOMENT  
 BY THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL CONSTANTINO DE SAA DE NORONHA.  
 (AND) THE OTHER THINGS THAT MIGHT BE SAID I PASS IN  
 SILENCE AND LEAVE TO THE RELATION FURTHER ON.

**F 2** | RELATION OF THE SAD EVENT THAT TOOK PLACE IN  
 THE CONQUEST OF THE ISLAND OF CEILLAÕ. •

Often have I stood in suspense, pen in hand, not having the courage to revive past Sorrows or even to relate the miserable state in which they withdrew from the suburbs and came within the walls, giving up their properties and houses, in such sort that continually, without any rest, there went every day three or four biers to bury the dead that were found in the streets and squares, some from cholera<sup>6</sup> from which may God deliver us, others from smallpox, and above all because not a measure of rice could be found, not even for a tanga<sup>7</sup> because of the general rising of the natives upon the death and rout of the general Constantino de Saa de Noronha and of the whole of his army in the Kingdom of Huua<sup>8</sup> which, according to the statement of the few lascarins who came from there was in the following manner.

Our arrayal entered the Kingdom of Huua on the 15th of August,<sup>9</sup> with four hundred soldiers and three thousand lascarins of the country, besides many men of service,

<sup>1</sup> 'Treslado', literally, copy.

<sup>2</sup> After the death of Dom Juan Dharmapala, Ceylon was spoken of as 'the conquest'. Queyroz' *Conquista* 79 Journal R A.S., XX., 411, note.

<sup>3</sup> December, 1594, to December, 1612.

<sup>4</sup> The reckoning seems to be from the death of Don Juan Dharmapala (May 27, 1597).

<sup>5</sup> Dom Francisco de Menezes, acting, 1612-1614.

Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, 1614-1616.

Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, 1616-1618.

Constantino de Sa de Noronha (first time), 1618-1622.

Jorge de Albuquerque, 1622-1623.

Constantino de Sa de Noronha (second time), 1623-1630.

<sup>6</sup> *Murdixi*, usually *mordexim*, from Kon. *modachi*, cholera.

<sup>7</sup> Tanga, originally the larin, rated at 60 reis, then a coin of account five of which = 1 pardac.

<sup>8</sup> Uva.

<sup>9</sup> 1630.

burning and razing down the city of Badulê, in the sight of the large multitude of foes who had placed themselves on the rugged hills and rocky places, to watch the damage to their property and persons, done without any damage to us, whereby they were so abashed and terrified and above all so furious at such daring, that they began to put into effect what for a long time they had been plotting; and the King of Candea<sup>1</sup> Araras<sup>2</sup> Bandar exchanging letters with some of our Mudiliares called Dom Cosmo, Dom Baltezar, Dom Theodozio, Dom Aleixo, made them great promises and gifts to revolt with their companies against us on this present occasion; whereof Luis Gomes Pinto being informed by the *cafrinho*<sup>3</sup> Muddeliare, communicated to the general, who considering this important affair as a jest, began to make fun of it without admitting anything, and at length said as follows: 'Let no one fear or presume evil of the Mudeliares Dom Cosmo, Dom Balthezar, Dom Theodozio, and Dom Aleixo, because they are very faithful and loyal vassals of His Majesty,<sup>4</sup> and there are no others in this Island who are more so than they, and besides this they have great love and respect towards me; and I love and cherish them as if they were my children, and they will not revolt against me. Wherefore, Senhor Luis Gomes Pinto, cease to give me such notices.'

And in the first skirmish which our men had with the enemy, which was on the 19th of the said month, the said Mudiliares went over to them turning their spears on us. Whereupon many of our lascarins rebelled and obliged the general to retreat to our territories with his army, of which the Captains were Miguel da Fonçequa the Deaf, Simão de Pinna, Calisto Machado de Gouvea, Mathias Leitao d'Andrade, João Coelho, Francisco de Quintal Pereira, Simão Vieira the Bald, Sebastião da Costa, Vicente de Mendonça,<sup>5</sup> Domingos Temudo, Manoel Gomez, Antonio Ferraõ da Cunha, and as Captain-Major Francisco Barbosa d'Andrade; and the Sergeant-Major of the the state of India, Antonio Godinho Coelho and Luis Gomes Pinto though sick and bleeding, and Luis Cabral de Faria, being men of great experience and versed in warfare, the General wished to take with him on this | expedition, and along <sup>F 20</sup> with them some cazados of this city by name Gaspar da Costa, Andre Penedo Leitaõ, Manoel da Silva, Silveiro Vilhalobos, Antonio Nogueira Freire,<sup>6</sup> João da Costa Brandao, Braz Dias

<sup>1</sup> Kandy.

<sup>2</sup> Señerat.

<sup>3</sup> Black.

<sup>4</sup> The King of Portugal.

<sup>5</sup> Mca in text, which I presume stands for Mendonça.

<sup>6</sup> Fe.



Nogueira, Matheus Pereira, Vieira<sup>1</sup> Lobo, Gaspar Duarte, Vicente Dias, João da Cruz, João Bernades, Domingos Dias, Antonio de Lima, Domingos Mendes Craveiro,<sup>2</sup> Britto Vaaz, Domingos de Moura, Pero Mendes de Souza, João Lobo Muricale, Gregorio Ribeiro, Simão Lourenço,<sup>3</sup> Diogo Fernandez<sup>4</sup> de Lima, and many others whom I do not remember, and eighty country-born men, among whom were the sons of Jeronimo Taveira, and two [sons] of João Vaaz de Araujo and two of Baltezar Munis and one of Dom Constantino Barreto and two nephews of Father Diogo da Silva and my nephews Ruy Dias da Lomba and Salvador Rebello and Manoel d'Almado whom I brought up as my own, and many others whom I do not name in order not to be tiresome ; so that there was not in this city a caste or group of kinsfolk to whom this did not cost a father, brother, son, nephew, or relation. And our men began to march in the following order : the advanceguard was led by Jacinto Rebello d'Azevedo, Dissava of Sufragaõ, the Vanguard by the Captain-General with the banner of Christ, the rearguard by Luis Teixeira de Macedo, Dissava of the Seven-Corlas, and the right wing by the Domingos Carvalho Quaõ,<sup>5</sup> Dissava of Mature, the left wing by Manoel Pestana Monteiro, Dissava of the Four-Corlas, and because Luys Gomes Pinto was a veteran captain of great experience, they charged him to put the men in ranks and in the order of the march, distributing the munitions to the soldiers of great confidence. And as he was engaged in this, the General called out to him [and] seizing a large broadsword [Catana] he said : ' Cut off my head with this *catana*, for not profiting by your good counsel and warning ' : and with great calmness and composure he replied : ' Senhor Captain-General, do not be angry with it [the head] yet, because very soon these beloved sons of yours will separate it from the shoulders, and mine into the bargain.' At this time there appeared an innumerable multitude of enemies, waving many banners of various colours to the sound of warlike instruments, and the divisions came nearing our men, hurling clouds of arrows and letting off volleys from muskets and firelocks ; and there commenced with great intrepidity and daring, the most wild and well-fought battle that can be imagined between so many and so few, wherein the General with a gauntlet in his hands killed many foes, and the same was done by many cavaliers especially by Luis Gomes Pinto, Luis Cabral de Faria

<sup>1</sup> Vra.<sup>4</sup> Dio Fz.<sup>2</sup> Des Mis Crauro.<sup>5</sup> Caõ.<sup>3</sup> Lo.

and the Sergeant-Major, who seemed nothing but fierce lions, doing such great wonders with their arms that [their exploits] surpass human Belief. And meantime there issued from both sides such shouts and battlecries and so many instruments and such a din from kettledrums, trumpets, and tambours, that the hills and valleys seemed to quake and be torn away | <sup>F 3</sup> from their places, but it little availed our men to have wrought such gallant deeds : and as they had no relief or rest, after a march of two days, Luis Teixeira de Macedo along with the companies of Miguel da Fonçequa the Deaf and of Francisco de Quintal Pereira, got into the forests with them, giving up the place of which he had charge with the great fear and dread which he conceived on seeing such a multitude of enemies that there was no mountain, hill, or valley, which was not covered by them, it appearing to him that he might succeed in going to the fortalice of Batecallou, as it was three days journey from that place, while the enemies were engaged with our arrayal ; and the few lascarins who were still in our arrayal seeing this, or perhaps thinking it a good opportunity to become companions of the enemy in the spoil, joined [the enemy] and with great fury and daring attacked our men, who were going in disorder, each trying to follow the way which seemed best to him. They broke their ranks on a Thursday, 22nd of August, at eight o'clock in the morning, and by dint of spears and arrows they set upon the Captain-General, Constantino de Saa de Noronha and killed him, and Luis Gomes Pinto and Luis Cabral de Faria and the Sergeant-Major, with the many other valorous captains and soldiers who came to that part, because the brunt of the battle was there. They were all killed and cut to pieces and their heads severed and stuck on long staffs to be seen and recognized by all ; and with loud cries and great joy, beating the warlike instruments they clamoured ' Victory, Victory ' in their fashion. Whereupon all ours were disheartened and they surrendered and laid down arms, and forthwith they were denuded by the enemies and manacled, and with many an insult and blow they were led to the city of Candea where they go about clapped in irons, naked and dying of hunger, begging theirsustenance from door to door ; and with the same career of victory the King with all his force and that of our territories, for all submitted to his vassalage and obedience, came to lay siege to our fortalice and city of Columbo, because he knew the [scanty] force that was there, which did not exceed three hundred Portuguese, good and bad, aged and sick, and all the walls fallen and on the ground, and the bastions with very little artillery and these on the ground without carriages with

neither powder nor balls: and when he was on his way, the fort of Sofragaõ surrendered to him with fifty soldiers, of whom the captain was João de Seixas.

And when this news was spread in the city by the said rebels coming one night to the suburbs thereof to remove their wives and children, without there being anyone to prevent them, the Moors also tried to rebel against us, plotting to kill us all one night and to quit the city, the ringleader of this revolt being the Canecapole of Antonio Coutinho: and he planned F 3v the business in such a way | that by falsehood he might achieve his purpose and desire, but this great evil being detected, they were all seized and put to death by authority, though with the death of my kinsman Bertolameu Serraõ Alfange and some others wounded, because the said Moors put themselves on the defensive.

And the enemy coming in our sight, with twenty thousand men-at-arms and ten thousand men of service and twelve elephants of war, approached our fortalice and fixed his lodgings in the houses of Pero Vaz Roiz and in those of Miguel Jacome and Paula Soares and in others which were along our walls which served them as bastions and forts, as there was artillery in them, wherewith they caused us great damage, profaning moreover the churches and destroying the crosses and treating the images with irreverance and mockery.

He erected so large a structure of pallisades and rubble, that our artillery caused little damage to it. Whereby they approached the bastions of the King and of San João, while a continuous and wild volley of balls did not cease to rain into our fortalice in a brisk round, whereby they did not discourage the defenders thereof, who rather with deliberate care attacked the said stockades and set fire to them, putting the enemy to flight with the death of many, which the King of Candea felt very much, because it was under his eyes, and he ordered that on the 16th of September at the rising of the moon there should be an attack on the walls of the bastion of Mapane,<sup>1</sup> it appearing to him that on that side he would meet with a lesser defence, and when he sent a large squadron of enemies, all in a mass with many stockades and mantlets and loud shouts and battlecries, so that it seemed to rend the earth, they were beaten back by our men who acted with such valour and spirit, that they drove them away with many deaths, making them leave behind all the ladders and mantlets, while of ours they killed only a country-born man by name Domingos

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<sup>1</sup> Mahapana, the great plain from Colombo to Mount Lavinia. The bastion of Mapana was the bastion at the Galle Face end of the Fort.



Jorge, a good cavalier, and wounded a few. On the twenty-fourth of the said month the enemy obliged us, because he was very near the bastion of Sam Sebastião, to entrust it to the secular Fathers, while we sallied out of the walls because of the suspicion that they were going to mine that bastion; and with great determination our men attacked amidst numberless balls the enemy's forts, which were soon taken and burnt with the death of those who were defending them.

At this time the fortalice of Manicravare surrendered with eighty Portuguese of whom the captain was Manoel Mendes de Mota, and on the orders of this city there retreated to it from Maluana before the enemy could lay siege, Francisco de Brito with those of his company; whereupon the enemies killed Manoel da Silva, Juliaõ da Silva, and Antonio d'Almada in their villages.

Manuel Correa de Brito, forsaking the fortalice of Calleture, came with its inhabitants saying that it had neither munitions nor provisions.

And on the arrival of the pinnaces which came from this city,<sup>1</sup> it appeared to | the enemy that large forces had come therein *F 1* and on the second day which was the ninth of October, he raised the siege, and crossed over to the other bank of the river of Nacolegaõ, making such damage and destruction that he captured almost all the slaves of the inhabitants of this city who used to go in search of wood, beet, and other herbs and things necessary for the sustenance of life because of the want of provisions, and they say that up to the present many were driven to eat many filthy and extraordinary things.

And as the evils and losses which I have related were not enough, there happened on the feast of All Saints that there arose a storm so strong and violent with such darkness and rain that four pinnaces which had come to this city were dashed on the shore, where they went to pieces, and one of them had arrived the day before with provisions for this fortalice, all of which was lost. May God deign to have compassion on the miserable state in which we are, and remove the chastisement which our sins have deserved.

On the eleventh of November our Portuguese and lascarins of the country, going in company with Lançarote de Seixas, Captain-Major of War, to clear the suburbs of this fortalice, at the bridge of Nacolegaõ were attacked by the enemy with great fury, but they were put to the rout and overthrown with the death of fifteen of them, though it cost us a cazado by name Gonçalo de Spinola.



In a different writing :

At the time when this painful event took place in the Island of Ceilaõ to the great prejudice of the service of God and that of His Majesty, and to the prejudice of the welfare and relief of the Vassals as has happened, had not the divine favour deigned to inspire Senhor Dom Felipe M(ascarenhas), the whole island about which I speak, would have been lost. And in satisfaction for it, there has been given to the said Senhor the payment which I omit to mention, as it seems so bad to other persons as well as to me because of the great experience which I have acquired in the service of His Majesty in the Island of Ceilaõ, and so it seemed to me that it was good to send this narrative to Your Lordship that it might be before you. Which I, as a servant of Your Lordship, hope to do, giving Your Lordship, if you give me leave, all particulars of events that take place in this state, both good and bad. Mayour Lord, &c. Goa, 27th of January, [1]633.

J<sup>o</sup>DA COSTTA PERESTRELLO.

Bibliotheca da Ajuda Codex 51-VIII.-40, Part 17, folio 188-191.

Original Manuscript in four sheets with the mark ' Costta ' on the top of each sheet.

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